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## Diary of the Week.

In a powerful address to the miners on Thursday, Mr. Asquith declared the Government's intention to secure "a reasonable minimum wage for underground workers," by "every means which is necessary for its effective attainment." Quite 60 per cent. of the employers accept the principle, and, to quote Mr. Asquith's words to the miners, the Government "do not intend that the resistance of what I hope is a dwindling minority should unduly delay the attainment of an object which we believe you have properly put before us, and which we have satisfied ourselves is consistent with justice and with the best interests of the community." He appealed to the miners to "allow a reasonable latitude for discussion in relation to particular rates," and not to stand too closely to "a particular formula." There is no doubt that the Government have in readiness a Bill providing for the establishment of legal district minima, and for the coercion of the employers in South Wales or elsewhere, should they impose impediments to such a mode of working. It is still hoped that this announcement of an intention to seek legal powers may induce the South Wales and Scottish owners to accept a principle to which the Northumberland owners have at the last moment acceded.

MORE than a million miners have now quitted work. They will shortly be followed by hundreds of thousands of men, to whom notices have been given, in the steel and iron trades, in textile factories, and in many other

industries. The Great Northern, North Western, and other lines have already announced reductions in their passenger services, and as time goes on all their accumulated stocks of coal will be reserved for the transport of food and other vital services. Meanwhile, the railway men are in a state of ferment, and there is a wide-spreading disposition to refuse all handling of coal and all transport of troops. Local groups of men are besieging the four Unions with requests for instruction in these matters, and many openly express the wish to come out, partly in support of the miners, partly to demand a revision of their own unsatisfactory settlement. The shipping trade is already beginning to feel the pinch, and unless there is an early settlement, shipowners will soon begin to lay up their steamers. This will add immensely not only to the distress, but to the chances of local disorders in places like Liverpool and Hull.

THROUGHOUT the week the Government were busy negotiating with both owners and miners. On Monday the Prime Minister held a private conference with a number of representative owners, and on Tuesday morning he received a deputation of the miners at the Foreign Office. This meeting was followed in the early afternoon by another meeting of the miners' executive in Downing Street, while the owners were engaged in similar negotiations at the Foreign Office. The miners were kept in consultation until the early evening, and after their departure the Consultative Committee of the owners was closeted with Mr. Asquith.

ON Wednesday, the adjourned meeting of the Federation and the body of mine-owners respectively considered the proposals of the Government. These proposals adopted the principle of "a reasonable living wage," to be secured "by arrangements suitable to the special circumstances of each district; adequate securities to be provided to protect employers against abuse." The principle was to be applied by means of district conferences, with the presence of a Government representative, and, in case of failure to come to terms, "the representatives of the Government to decide jointly any outstanding point." This proposal was accepted by the districts of the English Conciliation Board (Lancashire, Yorkshire, the Midlands, and North Wales), also by Cumberland and a majority of the Durham owners. Northumberland and Scotland regretfully declined, but late on Thursday the Northumberland owners withdrew their opposition. The South Wales owners couched their refusal in the stiffest terms. They "adhere strictly to their present agreement," and "are unanimous in stating that they cannot agree to the Government's proposals."

ALTHOUGH the Government proposal went far in substance to meet the miners' case, the meeting of the Federation declined to accept it, on the ground that they could only enter into the suggested district conferences with the understanding that the minima should be those scheduled by the Federation on February 2nd. They were, however, willing to continue meetings with the

Government and with the mine-owners. So the matter stood on Wednesday night. The negotiations disclosed two chief obstacles—the obdurate attitude of owners outside the English conciliation areas, especially in South Wales, and the unwillingness of the miners to accept the bare principle of a minimum as a sufficient reason for calling off the strike. Previous negotiations had made it evident that a practicable interpretation of the principle in terms of actual rates could be obtained in the English area, and the miners' representatives dare not go back upon their agreed schedules, even if they had desired. For the railway settlement has caused widespread suspicion of merely general settlements among the rank and file of the miners.

THE by-election in the St. Rollox division of Glasgow, caused by Mr. McKinnon Wood's promotion to the Cabinet, has resulted in Mr. Wood's return to Parliament, though by a reduced majority. Since the last election, in December, 1910, the Liberal poll has dropped by 761, while the Unionists have added 687, leaving the Liberal majority diminished by 1,448. This result is disappointing, but its importance ought not to be exaggerated. Both parties agree that the contest was fought upon the Insurance Act and Home Rule. In regard to the former, many of the large employers in Glasgow have for some time been carrying on a steady propaganda against the Act, while the large number of Orangemen who live in the division have thrown in their weight against Home Rule. Whatever the permanent effect of the Insurance Act may be, it is not surprising that Tory misrepresentations are at present having their effect on the electorate. Until the misapprehensions thus fostered have been removed, we may expect some falling off in Liberal majorities.

THE Army Estimates stand this year at £27,860,000, a figure which involves an increase of £170,000 over the total for last year. The increase has been incurred for the improvement of our backward aviation service. There seems to be no hope of any international agreement to prohibit the use of flying machines in war, and, under these conditions, our slowness to adopt this new arm can no longer be defended. But, as the "Manchester Guardian" points out, when we have a reliable aviation corps for scouting, it ought to be possible to economise in cavalry. In that connection, it is difficult to understand the continued maintenance of a large and costly force in South Africa, involving, as each battalion does, its duplicate at home. The figures regarding the Territorial force show a serious decline in officers, whose numbers have decreased in the year by 304. The establishment of men shows a slight increase, mainly in the last quarter, but the sudden spurt of 1908 has not been maintained. In the matter of armament, the chief subject for congratulation is the supply of a new quick-firing howitzer, which is said to be the best in the world.

ON the vexed question of the rifle, the White Paper admits the failure to invent a satisfactory automatic weapon, and in consequence a new magazine rifle has been adopted provisionally, which is shortly to be tested on a large scale. In view of this announcement it is not easy to understand the motive for the excited partisan attacks on Lord Haldane in the "Pall Mall Gazette." Admittedly, the "Unionist" rifle of 1903, adopted by Lord Roberts, is unsatisfactory, and is about to be replaced. The supply of a lighter bullet, which

gives a flatter trajectory than the old heavy bullet, but has less stopping power, is only a temporary expedient, adopted until such time as the new rifle can be perfected and manufactured on a large scale. There is, we think, more substance in the contention that the Territorials ought not to have had to wait so long for a relatively satisfactory rifle. The story that the process of readjusting the new bullet to the old rifle resulted in leaving the two Aldershot Divisions with only 150 rounds of the old bullet, because its manufacture had been stopped, and this at the height of the Anglo-German crisis, requires investigation.

THE debate on the Address was brought to an end on Friday week, when an amendment favoring a policy of small ownership of land was supported by Mr. Jesse Collings and Mr. Walter Long. The fact that a considerable amount of land has recently been sold over the heads of tenants has undoubtedly given rise to apprehension, but Mr. Runciman was on firm ground in replying that what the tenants wanted was not ownership but a security of tenure which would free them from capricious or damaging disturbance. He indicated that future legislation would take note of the Departmental Commission's recommendations that the period of notice should be extended in certain cases. On Monday the Board of Agriculture came up again for discussion on the Supplementary Estimates. The choice of two of the six additional Commissioners who have been appointed under the Small Holdings Act was attacked because, though "excellent and valuable men," they had at one time been Liberal candidates. To make such a criticism, as Mr. Runciman said, was to take the narrowest possible party view. It is generally admitted that the new Commissioners have reduced the friction in the administration of the Act. They are getting on well with the County Councils, and have already done a good deal to facilitate the extension of holdings.

SCOTTISH Home Rule formed the subject of a set debate in the Commons on Wednesday, when a resolution was passed recommending that Home Rule for Ireland should be followed by a similar measure for Scotland as part of a general scheme of devolution. Mr. Bonar Law dismissed the demand as "purely a hot-house grievance," and contrasted it with the feeling with regard to Ireland, which, he admitted, was one "of long growth and real force in the minds of the people." There is, however, a good deal of evidence that there exists in Scotland a strong and growing feeling for some form of self-government. It is agreed on all sides that the Imperial Parliament is overburdened, and this, as Mr. McKinnon Wood pointed out, is one of the strongest arguments for devolution. The problem is to establish a system which will satisfy the demands of all portions of the United Kingdom.

THE Albert Hall has been the scene of two great meetings on woman suffrage in the past eight days. At the first, a meeting organised by suffrage societies with the object of obtaining the vote in 1912, Mr. Lloyd George was continually interrupted by militant suffragists in spite of a dignified appeal from Mrs. Fawcett. Mr. George urged a "broad and democratic measure," but stated that if there were no alternative means of extending the suffrage to women, he should vote for the Conciliation Bill in preference to leaving the matter untouched. He also repudiated the Referendum so far as his own views were concerned, though he justly

remarked that only the Prime Minister could speak for the Government as a whole. On Wednesday, the anti-suffragists made their demonstration, but though the Lord Chancellor put the familiar arguments, or rather the considerations that weigh with many men, with his accustomed dignity and terseness, it cannot be said that any new fact emerged. In the interval a letter appeared from Mr. Churchill stating objections not only to the Conciliation Bill but to the enfranchisement of seven or eight millions of women at a stroke. The effect is to throw Mr. Lloyd George's advocacy of a democratic franchise into stronger relief.

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THE Italian fleet, which has gone cruising more than once without result in the *Ægean* since the war began, signalled itself at the end of last week by destroying two small and obsolete Turkish warships in Beirut harbor. The vessels were of no real value to Turkey, and had remained at Beirut, in all probability, because they were unable to make a safer port. Their destruction was, no doubt, a legitimate act of war, but it has alarmed other Powers, and notably France, which have trading interests in Syria. The Italian gunnery must have been clumsy, for spent shells struck several banks and public buildings on the quay, and killed or injured (it is said) some sixty persons. Meanwhile, it is known that M. Sazonoff has made proposals for what is called mediation. The Russian conception of this good office is that Turkey should be compelled to withdraw her troops from Tripoli. It is said that Great Britain and France are acting with her; but, apparently, France at least has made certain conditions. The German Powers, not unnaturally, view the proposal coldly, and in its present form nothing can come of it. The vote of the Italian Parliament, ratifying annexation, has made it almost impossible to find an acceptable compromise, while the Turks, on their side, continue to insist that no Ottoman Government which accepted the cession of Tripoli could survive.

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THE collapse of Senator La Follete, the designated candidate of the insurgent Republicans for this year's presidential contest, has brought Mr. Roosevelt once more on the scene. In his breezy manner he announces that "his hat is in the ring." This definite announcement of his intention to seek the party nomination at the Convention of next June was preceded by a speech, delivered at Columbus, Ohio, containing an attack upon the freedom of the Federal Courts in their interpretation of the Constitution, and supporting the machinery of referendum and initiative, recall, direct election of Senators, and presidential primaries, which forms the staple of advanced Constitutional doctrine in South Dakota, Oregon, and other Western States. This line of action has shocked his supporters in the East, who resent especially his opposition to the nomination of Mr. Taft for a second term. If persisted in, it makes the chances of a Republican victory extremely slender.

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THE relations between the Northern and Southern Governments of Republican China seem at length to be established on a footing of confidence and common-sense. Tang-Shao-Yi, who appears to be a diplomatist of genius, has reached Nanking, and from his arrival everything has gone smoothly. He has been chosen provisional Prime Minister, and under his headship the two Cabinets are about to be fused. The difficulties in the way of the adoption of Yuan-Shih-Kai as provisional President are now at an end. A mission from Nanking has been received with all the honors and ceremonies in Peking, and

has formally notified him of his election, and invited him to go to Nanking to take the oath. This, it will be remembered, he originally refused to do, but he has now complied with a request which is by no means uncomplimentary, and will make the journey, it is said, a fortnight hence. There is really only one question which now remains for settlement—the choice of a capital. Wuchang and Tientsin are competing for the honor with Nanking, and good observers conclude that this competition, coupled with arguments drawn from the low state of Chinese finances, will result in favor of the retention of reactionary Peking as the seat of government.

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THERE is as yet no news from Persia to inform us what answer the Government of Teheran has made to the Anglo-Russian note proposing the recognition of the partition, a pension to the Shah, the disbandment of the Nationalist levies, and the recruiting of an army under Russian officers, in return for the offer of a loan of £200,000 at 7 per cent. coupled with foreign financial control. Even the present Government, abject though it is, may require some time to recover from its surprise. But it seems doubtful whether the two partners are really quite agreed in their programme. The "*Novoe Vremya*" apparently finds Sir Edward Grey's speech far from satisfactory. It urges that there should either be active and effectual intervention or else complete non-intervention. A risky suggestion is now put forward that the Russian forces should be used to expel the ex-Shah. We should like to know what price will be charged for this service. The ex-Shah's brother meanwhile has taken the important border town of Kirmanshah. Accounts from Persian sources are at last available, and have been published in the "*Manchester Guardian*," of Russian proceedings at Tabriz. It appears that the "fighting" began after Russian soldiers had, in cold blood, shot two Persian policemen who entered a verbal remonstrance against the erection of a military telegraph on some ground to which, in their view, the Russians had no right. We are also told that, under cover of the Russian occupation, the partisans of the ex-Shah have had full license to hang, loot, and levy benevolences in the occupied town.

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THE best comment on the proposed petition of the theatrical managers in favor of the Censorship is to be found in the fact that "Dear Old Charlie" is running nightly at a West End theatre. Not, of course, that all managers desire to produce "Dear Old Charlies"; but they are perfectly willing that immunity shall be guaranteed to plays of this type, and that the serious drama, which has, in their opinion, "no money in it," shall be gagged and bound, so long as they are protected by the Lord Chamberlain's license against what they dread above all things in the world—namely, interference on the part of the decent-minded public—or, as they prefer to put it, the Puritans. Meanwhile "*The Secret Woman*" has dealt a damaging blow to any prestige which the "Advisory Committee" may have seemed to possess. Only one paper has defended its action—a paper whose hostility is always preferable to its approval, the "*Express*." Many critics have held that the play would not have suffered by the suppression of the blue-pencilled passages; but that is not the question. The question is whether a play containing these passages was so incompatible with public morals and decency as to warrant its suppression as a work of art and its destruction as a piece of literary property. On that point the verdict against the Censorship has been practically unanimous.



## Politics and Affairs.

### THE GOVERNMENT AND THE STRIKE.

THE country has received with feelings of deep satisfaction the expression of the Government's intentions conveyed in Mr. Asquith's address to the Miners' Conference. The failure of the first step in intervention was indeed inevitable. No power of enforcement lay behind its proposals. A section of the mine-owners, chiefly in South Wales, persist in their stand upon the strictly legal interpretation of their agreement, and refuse even to discuss either the principle of the minimum wage or the practicability of its operation. The miners' rejection was based upon prudential considerations. Having clearly before their minds the moral of the illusory railway settlement of last summer, they dare not commit themselves to any acceptance of a barren principle not incorporated in an actual schedule. To order off the strike upon the "shell" proposals, which were the only form in which the Government at this stage could couch its intervention, would have been interpreted by the vast majority of miners as a cowardly betrayal of their interests. At best, it would have only procured a partial postponement of the trouble.

Moreover, certain plain facts of the situation must not be ignored. Neither the owners, as a body, nor the miners have been quite so seriously bent on an immediate settlement as the public and the Government. The last few weeks have placed great accumulated stocks in the possession of the mine-owners, for which they have been getting, and will get during a short stoppage, enormously profitable prices. Even the miners, during the unprecedented activity, have been earning good money, and are prepared to face a holiday with equanimity, or even with alacrity, provided it does not last too long. Moreover, when two parties have been for some time bracing themselves for an expected struggle, the sporting spirit that is generated counts against an easy peacemaking. Nevertheless, the proposals of the Government, as interpreted by the firm language of Mr. Asquith's address, carry momentous and salutary consequences. Containing, as they do, an express endorsement of the principle of the individual district minimum wage, together with a declaration that this minimum is not provided for all miners by existing arrangements, they must be understood as a firm vindication of the main contention of the men. Thus regarded, they will rally the support of that vast body of public opinion which waited, in its ignorance, for some authoritative judgment upon the material facts of the issue between owners and miners. Once convinced that there are numbers of hard-working miners who "cannot earn a reasonable minimum wage through causes which are no fault of their own," all sound-hearted people will insist upon an adequate and secure remedy being found for this social grievance. No one wishes to burn coal which is not yielding a reasonable support in wages to those who undergo the arduous and perilous task of hewing it from the body of the earth.

The Government's assertion that a minimum wage ought to form a first and an inalienable charge upon the price of coal is in itself an event of great significance, especially when accompanied by a proposal claiming for the Government a power of compulsory settlement where private agreement between employers and employed proves impracticable. Taken together, these proposals signified that the State sought to be empowered in the last resort to fix standard minima in the several districts. Now, so long as the State possesses no legal power to enforce this proposal, it is probable that neither party will willingly accept it. For neither party fully trusts State intervention in its business, or gives an adequate acknowledgment to rights of interference based on public interests or public order.

So long, therefore, as the State intervenes as a delicate intruder into a private quarrel, it has no power to bring about a settlement. A strike may continue until one party has had enough, and is willing to acknowledge itself beaten, and the suffering public must bear its sufferings as best it can. It is, of course, true that, apart from Governmental intervention, the pressure of public opinion, and even public passion, would not be impotent. Moreover, the pugnacity of each party would weaken before the misery and havoc which even a week's strike will begin to exhibit in every industrial centre. For the million idle miners will be supplemented almost at once by an equal or larger number of men in the iron and steel trades and in the factories which are already beginning to close down. As wages stop, the prices of all perishable foods will rise to unprecedented heights, and literal starvation will soon confront the workers throughout the land. No Government, in this or any other civilised country, could possibly afford to try the experiment of keeping a ring, and letting the parties fight it to a finish when the lives of the whole nation are thus put in jeopardy. Indeed, it has been quite evident from the first, that, if it once came to a strike, the Government, failing in its early tentative solution, must acquire and exercise the legal force necessary to compel a resumption of the industry.

Mr. Asquith has stated this intention in the clearest possible terms. He is prepared to enforce the application of the principle of a reasonable minimum wage "by every means which is necessary for its effective attainment." Of the nature of the next step the Government must take, there can be little doubt. Failing a voluntary agreement within the next few days, it must ask from Parliament the legal power, which it lacks at present, to secure the application of the principle of the minimum wage. It is believed that a draft of such a Bill has been prepared for immediate submission to the House of Commons, should the strike continue over this week-end. The Minimum Wage Bill would no doubt either apply to the coal industry a procedure similar to that of the existing Wage Boards in sweated trades, or would give compulsory validity to the procedure suggested in the proposals of last Tuesday. In order, however, to obtain the assent of the men to any such scheme (and such assent would be vital to its success) it would be necessary to embody as a schedule to the Act an agreed scale of



minima for the several districts, not widely different from the Federation rate. For while we cordially endorse Mr. Asquith's appeal to the miners not to cling too closely to "a particular set of figures," it is pretty clear that their schedule, itself a careful compromise upon the earlier proposals of the separate districts, must form the general basis of wage agreement. If an early stoppage of the strike is to be procured, this should be clearly understood at the outset. For unless the assent of the miners can be secured for the Government scale, no amount of legal power can enforce the working of the mines.

There cannot, however, be much doubt that an acceptance, not merely for the principle but for this practical interpretation, could be got from masters and men in the Conciliation Board area. The miners in this area would then be absolved from their present obligation to stay out until their comrades in South Wales and the other districts had got their settlement. For if the masters in these areas remained obdurate, refusing to take part in working the new Act, another course of action would be open to the Government. Mines that refused to accept the new conditions could be placed under direct Governmental control, being operated like businesses in liquidation under an official receiver. Mr. D. A. Thomas and his little group of obstructives cannot be permitted to hold up the business and flout the will of the nation under the dubious pretext of some form of agreement which it is contrary to the public policy to enforce.

We are well aware of the serious economic and political issues involved in an exceptional measure of this order. To impose measures which secure the consent of the men and apply successfully the principle of a living minimum may, perhaps, involve a considerable rise in the wage-bill of many mines. For the assumption that some grades of workers are at present under-paid seems to involve some such admission. Moreover, if the legal minima approximate to the schedules of the Federation, based, we understand, upon a computation of average daily earnings, it is likely that some reduction of output will occur in the case of workers formerly upon or below the average. If, for these reasons, the average cost of labor rises, the Government will probably be called upon to take over and work the less profitable mines, not only in Wales, but in other areas. Though such an event may seem to move in the direction of that general nationalisation of the mines, which Mr. Hobson, in the current issue of *THE NATION*, indicates as a likely outcome of the trouble, it may impose a particularly difficult and even an expensive duty on the Government. But from such a duty, in a peril so extreme as that which now confronts us, no Government can shrink. The mines of Great Britain must be worked, and worked under conditions which afford reasonable wages and reasonable security of employment to the skilled and trained operatives. If private owners affirm that it is impossible to run them profitably under these conditions, public ownership must supersede them. Those who on theoretical grounds object to State determination of wages must be invited to explain in what other way they would cope with the actual situa-

tion. There is no practicable way of compelling or inducing the miners to work the mines unless they are satisfied with the conditions under which they work, and the obvious interest of the public is that those conditions shall be made satisfactory. We are glad to find in the Government a firm adoption of this public policy.

#### THE PROSPECTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

WITH the highest respect for some of the speakers at the Albert Hall meeting on Wednesday, we cannot pretend to find any new arguments against the extension of the suffrage to women. We heard once again that Nature had fixed a difference between the two sexes, but we heard no argument to prove that that difference was such as to abolish the interest of women in the action of the State, or to prevent them forming a judgment on that action. We heard once again that if some women got the vote, all would get it, and it is so far from affecting our attitude that we should be glad for all to get it at once. We heard that if women were admitted to the vote, they would subsequently claim admission to Parliament and to high offices, but we heard no argument advanced to show why, if any woman is deemed suitable by a constituency to represent it, she should be debarred by sex from doing so, or why, if a woman is suited by her capacity for the highest office, she should be disqualified by sex from the exercise of that office. If a woman could fill the difficult position of sovereign with success for sixty-three years, it is hard to understand how ridicule can be effectively cast on the view that a woman might succeed in the office of a Minister to the Crown. In any case, to open the door is not to force anyone through it. To make women eligible for any post is not to decree that unfit women shall be chosen. We cannot, therefore, agree with one of our contemporaries, which opines that the meeting has rung the knell of woman suffrage. On the contrary, we think that it has left things precisely as they were before.

There is, in fact, no life in the opposition to woman suffrage. The difficulties of the cause are just the old ones. There is a great mass of inert organism which will take no trouble in the matter, and resents being bothered about it, and there is the party difficulty, consisting in the fact that on each side of the House there are strong opponents occupying prominent positions. There is, lastly, the difficulty caused by the attitude of the militant section whose methods consist in annoying the public in general and more particularly any friends of the movement who do not happen to work with their particular organisation. There comes a time in the history of militant movements when those who have fought for a cause are tempted actually to resent the possibility that it may be carried to success by other hands than their own, and in particular by any of those on whom they have declared war. If Mr. Lloyd George should, after all, succeed in carrying a suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill this Session, it would certainly make a great many denunciations of his alleged treachery sound foolish. But this is really no excuse for the attempt of

one organisation to spoil a meeting organised by another having the same object in view. It is, in our view, utterly unworthy to write of the unreasoning action of a small band of women as an argument against the political capacity of an entire sex; but human nature being what it unfortunately is, the action of any prominent set of women is sure to be used as an argument against the ability of women in general to form a balanced political judgment. Moreover, the fact that any prominent politician who identifies himself with the suffrage at once lays himself open to attack from the militant suffragists has its effect on the less staunch supporters of the movement. Thus, we regret to see that Mr. Winston Churchill has in effect announced the withdrawal of his support. If he will neither vote for the Conciliation Bill nor for a wider measure of enfranchisement, we do not see what course remains, except a steady opposition to woman suffrage. But we think he owes the public some reasoned account of his change of attitude.

More important, however, than all these side issues is the question of the increase of enfranchisement which is to rally the democratic forces as a whole. Mr. Lloyd George, it would seem, leans to an intermediate measure, as a compromise between the Conciliation Bill and Adult Suffrage. Yet, as soon as the qualifications that encumber the male vote are swept away, the objections to re-introducing restrictions which must be more or less arbitrary, for the special purpose of limiting the number of women on the register, become obvious. On the other side, the simplicity and consistency of the adult principle—full citizenship for every grown-up person—have an irresistible appeal. It is a measure to correct the inequalities and concentrate the now awakening forces of democracy. Its mere simplicity will minimise the expense and chicanery of registration. Its sweep and thoroughness will rally forces of enthusiasm that are needed to move the dead-weight of indifference. Mr. Lloyd George's "broad and democratic" lines converge towards it at no remote distance, and will encounter what there is of life in the fears based expressly on the allegation that it is the ultimate goal of the movement. The hesitation which some feel would be better met by raising the age for both sexes and all classes to twenty-five than by any artificial and uneven restriction preserving the tradition of the old disqualifications or privileges. We are not denying that a broad and democratic measure would have its value as an instalment. But the broader and more democratic it is, the nearer will it come to the universal principle, and it will be for convinced democrats to lend their weight to the forces propelling the promised amendment in this direction.

#### MR. ROOSEVELT AGAIN IN THE LIMELIGHT.

WHEN the Irishman of story, visiting Niagara, was invited to express his wonder at so huge a mass of water plunging over, he remarked, "Shure, and what's to kape it back?" The same remark is applicable to the other of the two great natural forces in America, Theodore

Roosevelt. It was simply impossible for him to keep out of so great a fight as that offered by the announcement of his intended candidature for a third term of office at the White House. No doubt a large part of the zest for him consists precisely in those conditions of the fight which would have disconcerted other men. For, in order to secure the nomination which might make him the Republican candidate at the Convention of next June, he must surmount a series of appalling obstacles. He must first confront the deep-rooted feeling against electing any person for a third term of Presidential office. In the next place, he must explain away or devour his most express disclaimer of any such intention. For the next six months he must devote his energy to sapping the political reputation of Mr. Taft, the man whom he himself selected four years ago as his worthiest and most trusty successor, and who has acquired, according to modern custom, a first claim on the party nomination for a second term of office. In such a struggle, he will have against him the instinctive feelings of all "the better element" of Eastern Republicanism, as well as the more material weapons of federal patronage, which count so heavily, especially in determining the nominees for the Southern States to the Republican Convention.

There seems no doubt that the recent collapse in health of Senator La Follette, the most energetic leader of the Republican insurgents, determined Mr. Roosevelt to this audacious plunge. Once more he feels himself to be the man of destiny. Had Mr. La Follette's campaign in the winter encouraged hopes of his success, it would hardly have seemed possible for Mr. Roosevelt, with his vacillating record, to have hoped to secure the leadership of the solid insurgent wing. His constructive statecraft as reformer, both during his Presidency and afterwards, showed itself spasmodic and inconsequent. Though Mr. Taft's endorsement and defence of the reactionary Payne Tariff alienated much support, especially in the Middle West, Mr. Roosevelt's steady refusal to touch the subject during his seven years of office can hardly win the confidence of those who realise the need of an early and drastic reduction of the Tariff. Again, though it was Mr. Roosevelt who announced a policy of "Trust-busting," and fastened its administration on his successor, his recent defence of the Steel Trust against the prosecution in the Courts is hardly calculated to endear him to radical reformers. And yet his recent utterances in other fields of politics make it evident that he is hoping to rally under his banner these and other elements of discontent, both in his party and outside. No other meaning can be attached to the speech delivered by him at Columbus, Ohio, a fortnight since, which has set aflame with anger the Republican Press of the entire East. Its most inflammatory article consisted in an attack upon the Federal Courts and a thinly veiled demand that the practice known as the "recall" shall be applied to judges whose interpretation of the constitutional character of laws does not accord with the wishes or conveniences of the people. It is fair to add that for some time past Mr. Roosevelt has been preaching this revolutionary doctrine in the pages of the New York "Outlook," as a legitimate implication of American democracy. Coupling this assertion of the

free right of the people to interpret its constitution with a demand for the use of the Referendum and initiative, the direct election of Senators by popular vote, and what is known as the Residential Primary (which dispenses with the electoral college in a Presidential election), Mr. Roosevelt places himself in line with the most advanced constitutional Radicals of his time. He hopes to offset the almost universal reprobation of the Conservatives of the East by rallying to his standard the Western States in which these constitutional doctrines are immensely popular, filling the holes in his defective record by imposing on the people his electric personality.

He can hardly succeed either in converting his party or in stampeding a convention by such tactics. But he may easily ruin the chances of a Republican victory next November. For the Republican machine of the East, always dependent for its finance upon the property owners and great business men, will certainly refuse to follow this later interpretation of the "new Nationalism." A Republican defeat, indeed, might be certainly predicted, were not the Democrats in a plight only less embarrassing. For they, too, have no obvious or necessary candidate, and from the standpoint of party tactics a good deal depends upon whether they will have to fight Mr. Roosevelt as Radical, or Mr. Taft as Conservative Republican. The former situation might, from the standpoint of machine politics, favor the choice of a safe man as Democratic nominee, whereas Mr. Taft could best be fought by a man of advanced views, such as Mr. Woodrow Wilson, or Mr. Folk, of Missouri. For, though Mr. Bryan is still kept in fair prominence by himself and his friends, it is difficult to believe him a possible candidate for a third trial. Such a discussion as this, in which personalities alone figure, appears to disregard the substance of the big issues and powerful forces which are discernible in the turgid current of American life. As presidential election after election comes on, it seems as if the automatic interplay of the party machine systems somehow paralyses all the deep, vital, and even passionate movements of the national life. The world continually hears that the working people in America are seething with revolt against the Tariffs, the Trusts, the bosses, and the mean and squalid conditions to which most of them are condemned, in a land which no longer spells for them "opportunities." Prophets of revolution from time to time trumpet their vaticinations, and some new arrival of Populism or Socialism is announced; organized labor is at last about to assert itself as a political force; but all seems to crumble away or to evaporate, and by the summer of the presidential year, everything settles down to the usual fight of two armies of mercenary politicians, a fight full indeed of sound and fury, but signifying nothing so far as the life and progress of the American people is concerned.

#### ITALY AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF INTERVENTION.

WHAT is an ambitious Power to do after solemnly annexing a province and then discovering its total inability to bring the facts into accordance with its

decrees? Italy has boasted of her theft, and the stolen goods are not in her pocket. She has slain her enemy, and, with an execrable want of taste, he declines even to "sham dead." The military situation in Tripoli is now better understood in Rome. After five months of warfare, with unchallenged command of the sea and unlimited reserves of men, Italy has made no substantial progress in subduing an enemy who can provision himself only from the desert and from the smuggler's precarious cargoes, and cannot add, or hope to add, to the forces which are worn down by the waste of war, by privation, and disease. Nowhere have the Italian forces dared as yet to advance beyond the range of their big ships' guns, and their occupation of the coast is still so limited that, despite the paucity of harbors on this difficult coast, the commerce in contraband continues. The extreme deliberation of this conquest would matter little, if there were reason to believe that the Italian staff had hopes or plans for any decisive action in the future. It will try to creep forward, mile by mile, from oasis to oasis, but that is all that it contemplates. It has let the favorable winter season all but go by, and if it means to be in the future more enterprising than it has been in the past, it will have to reckon with disease as well as with the enemy and the desert. It has shown irresolution, inexperience, a gross want of political instinct in dealing with the Arabs, a febrile nervousness, and, as far as we can judge on the meagre news which reaches us, a lack of military science. But when we remember our own leisurely conquest of the Soudan, it becomes us to admit that even if the Italian commanders had shown genius they could not have achieved substantially more. We had the Nile for our highway, and we were dealing with a population which lacked the leadership that the Turks can supply, and, in the end, succumbed as much to its own inter-tribal jealousies as to our military skill. The conclusion is perfectly obvious. The conquest of Tripoli, if the war is confined to Africa, will be a work not of months but of years, and probably of many years. A wealthy Empire which has lost the habit of making its external affairs a matter of party controversy might face such a prospect reluctantly, but firmly. With the Abyssinian precedent in our memory, we may doubt whether Italy could for years maintain her resolution to prosecute this war, or endure the burden which it must lay upon her finances. The Chamber has ratified the annexation of Tripoli by an impressive majority, but it takes more than a vote to make a conquest.

The naval operations in Beirut harbor betray the line of thought to which the Italian Government has now been driven. It cannot end the war in Africa. But dare it carry it into Europe or Asia? It is as yet nowhere near that resolution. The guns which sunk two useless Turkish ships in the Syrian harbor and did some incidental execution on its quays, have had their echo through the world. No one has found the noise welcome or musical; but even as a hint of worse to follow, we doubt whether any impression has been made upon the Turks. Such of their ships as possess any fighting value will not expose themselves to the Italian guns. They are useless in any encounter with a European Power,



but they are worth saving up in view of future dealings with the minor States of the Near East. Nor do we think that Turkey would be gravely embarrassed if the Italians were to go further and occupy Samos or Rhodes. She would lose some money, but even here the damage would be limited, for the Italians could not appropriate the revenues due to the international debt. The Hague Convention stands in the way of the bombardment of Salonica and Smyrna; Russia has vetoed an expedition to the Dardanelles, and Austria a descent on Albania. A military invasion at any other point would give the Turks the very chance they crave—an opportunity of defeating the enemy with adequate forces on their own soil. There is nothing which Italy can usefully do against Turkey, beyond this policy of pin-pricks, unless it were to enforce a blockade of Salonica or Smyrna, and even this would be a measure of which the effects would fall rather on European commerce than on the Turkish people. It would be a means of coercing Europe into intervention, but it would not impose surrender on Turkey. If a settlement should come about in this way, it would unquestionably reflect the irritation of the Powers. It is surprising how much latent vitality the conscience of the mercantile Powers can display when their commerce is seriously menaced. Brigandage in Tripoli is one thing; brigandage in the Levant quite another. No Power values its trade with Tripoli.

If Italy can neither end the war in Africa nor carry it into the Levant, it remains to consider the possibilities of intervention. The war came about only because the Concert of Europe had ceased to exist; it will continue until the Concert is restored. Some proposals have already been made which have reached the stage of publicity. They have reached nothing else. Russia apparently took the initiative in offering mediation, but apparently she made it a condition that her partners of the Triple Entente should join her. The French view has been set forth in semi-official communications. The earlier intimations apparently contemplated something like coercion at Constantinople to force the Turks to withdraw their forces from Tripoli. From such a naked breach of neutrality France has, on reflection, recoiled. Recollecting that she has to consider the feelings of her Moslem subjects, she has insisted, as physicists would put it, that her action must be equal and opposite, and that any pressure must be exercised in Rome as well as in Constantinople. She has also stipulated that the two German Powers must join in any intervention to which she lends her countenance. These are most proper conditions, but they are also impossible conditions. Germany is equally unwilling to coerce her ally, Italy, and her friend, Turkey, and as yet there is no basis for a friendly arrangement. By procuring the ratification of the act of annexation from her Parliament, Italy has doomed herself either to continue the war to the bitter end, or to accept an intervention which would be galling to her pride. She feels the burdens of the war far more acutely than her adversary, and yet she insists on his yielding the one point which, for his prestige, is vital.

The division among the Powers has not yet produced its whole disastrous consequence. The determined

and united intervention, which ought to have occurred before the war broke out, will probably become a necessity ere it has proceeded much further. Turkey may not be vulnerable at sea, and she can maintain the struggle in Tripoli for some time to come. But she is facing two nearer dangers. We question whether the Young Turks can maintain their ascendancy in the new Parliament about to be elected, save by a *coup d'état* after it has met, or by such an interference with the liberty of election before it meets, as would render the Constitution a farce. In either case they will add to the discontent of the Christian and non-Turkish elements which are already looking forward to war and rebellion "in the spring." We can just believe that the Albanians and Macedonians might stay their hand if a new Chamber should meet, with a more tolerant Ministry at its head. But we cannot believe that the Young Turks would patiently acquiesce in a defeat at the polls. The intervention which the Italian war has failed to bring about would then become imperative to prevent or to end a conflagration in the Balkans.

Of the danger in Macedonia the Young Turks are at length aware. Not for the first time since they came into power, the Minister of the Interior is making a lengthy tour through Macedonia, armed with dictatorial powers. We seem to remember that Talaat Bey undertook just such a tour, and after him the Sultan himself went in person. One hopes that the visit of Hadji Adil Bey, with Mr. Graves at his right hand and Colonel Foulon at his left, will lead to more serious results. They will find the peasantry depressed at the failure to introduce a reform in the dismal conditions of land tenure which the Young Turks had promised. Nothing has been done, save to plant Moslem colonies in Christian districts. The amnesty to the old rebels has been rendered unavailing because Moslem bands have picked out the old guerilla chiefs and murdered them one by one in their villages. The Gendarmerie, deprived of its foreign officers, has returned to its old inefficiency and corruption. The single improvement consists in the cessation of racial strife among the Christians, and that means only that they are united at last against the Turks. A case so nearly desperate makes for revolution, and therefore for intervention. But on what terms intervention could be arranged, we confess ourselves unable to guess. If a *rapprochement* has begun between this country and Germany, it certainly has not reached the point at which joint action in the Near East could be contemplated under the excessively delicate conditions that prevail to-day. Every consideration of prudence and good sense makes for the hastening of the negotiations which Lord Haldane initiated. If there were nothing at stake but our interests within our own islands, there would be an overwhelming case for promptitude. But with the risk before us of a chaos in the Balkans, which may demand prompt action before April is passed, delay becomes criminal and suicidal. Intervention, if come it must, will not be merely negative. It must be constructive, for it will occur only if the *status quo* has become intolerable. Of any effort of construction Europe to-day is incapable. At all costs the Concert must be restored.

## Life and Letters.

### RICH AND POOR.

"I think it is simply disgusting for you to send round this appeal to your wretched shareholders, who are receiving less dividend this year than they ought to, owing to the abominable way the men have behaved, and their grasping avarice: to which you and other Directors have so weakly yielded: and which have thereby so seriously reduced our incomes."

"Damn you, I say!"

In such simple, but choice and effective, terms did a shareholder in the London and North-Western Railway reply to the Chairman's appeal on behalf of the Railway Benevolent Institution. We like that shareholder. He speaks his mind. We know precisely where we stand with him. There is no nonsense—with or without the verb which his plain but sufficient vocabulary would supply—about him. He wants his dividend. Not only does he want his dividend, he wants more and more and more dividend. The London and North-Western Railway has prospered of late. Its dividends have risen, and its reserves are swollen. The dividend it declared at the very meeting where this letter was read was, in spite of the strike and its expensiveness, in spite of the "grasping avarice" of men on 24s. or 25s. a week, undiminished by a single penny. It made for the year the highest dividend since 1899. Men who have bought North-Western stock in the last few years have done well for themselves. We hope that shareholder was one of them, for we infer from this glimpse that we get of his mind that his pleasures are few and restricted, and probably pecuniary gain is one of the small number of things which he can count upon to solace him in this monotonous vale of life. Let us hasten to add, before we say anything more about him, that we do not take him as typical of the attitude of railway companies. On the contrary, the Chairman evidently read the letter with the intention of putting a certain type of malcontent to shame, and he succeeded. But we are all aware that the writer of this letter is voicing, in ungarnished English, sentiments shared by many, half and quarter shared by very many more. "Damn you, I say! Where is my extra quarter per cent.? What! a dividend of 7½ per cent. only? Why not 8? What! because men at 19s. have been raised to 20s., men at 21s. to 22s. What grasping avarice! Where is my 8 per cent.?"

There is a carter in Lambeth—whether employed by a railway or some other company we do not know. He earns 23s. a week, all of which he gives to his wife, to provide for them both and for their six children. Out of 23s. he pays 8s. 6d. for rent, or more than one-third of his income. Belonging to the avaricious but thriftless class, he pays 1s. for insurance, or more than 4 per cent. of his income. A hundredweight of coal cost him, before the late boom, 1s. 6d., for coal bought by the hundredweight is expensive, and he also has to pay 11d. for gas, not only for lighting, but probably for cooking. Gas bought on the penny-in-the-slot system is expensive. He has, after other sundries are allowed for—including therein no shadow of a luxury—the sum of 8s. 10½d. for the food of eight persons for one week, or an average of nearly 2d. a day per mouth. His wife spends a shilling on margarine in the week, but we see no butter in the dietary. We see no milk, and no bacon, though 2s. are spent on meat. We have been writing in the present tense. But these little facts are taken from a poignant pamphlet by Mrs. Pember Reeves, "Family Life on a Pound a Week," published by the Fabian Women's Group, and they refer in fact to the budget of a certain week in April, 1910. It is possible that this carter, whom we know only as Mr. "C.," joined the strike last summer. It is possible that by this time his hours have been reduced accordingly to seventy-five per week, and conceivable that his wages have been raised from 23s. to 24s. This would enable him to spend 3d. a day per head on food. Not satisfied with 2d., his grasping avarice demanded an extra penny. His insatiable greed

may, for aught we know, be gorging itself with the supply of a pennyworth of milk daily for a family of eight. We have no proof positive that the enormity of butter is still unknown in his household. And it is for this that men like our shareholder are defrauded of dividends—that the grasping avarice of human kind, not satisfied with 23s. and margarine, should luxuriate on 24s. and butter. It is for this despicable cause that a dividend of £775 is hindered from rising to the fair, round, portly figure of £800. Conceive the injustice of it! As Mrs. Dashwood in "Sense and Sensibility" proved long ago, the poorer you are the smaller are your expenses. We know nothing of our frank shareholder. We wish we knew more of him. Some shareholders, however, will have to pay £200, £300, even £500 a year in rent, as against Mr. "C.'s" beggarly 8s. 6d. per week, and then think of the number of rooms that they must furnish, and the servants whom they must "keep" and provide for in sickness and till death. What could they do with 6d. a week for the clothing club, and how could they dispense with milk, or put margarine on their beautiful tables. It would look so odd. Be sure the richer a man is the more he needs money. It is no avarice with him, it is the necessary means of meeting unavoidable expenditure that he demands. But for the poor man who spends almost nothing, for whom living is so cheap, and food costs 2d. per head a day, who buys coal by the hundredweight, and gas in penny measures, what need can there be for money? Let him leave money to the moneyed classes, and rejoice that for his part he has an unequalled opportunity for cultivating the virtue of resignation.

There is, however, a third point of view; neither that of the rich nor of the poor, but of the community. From this point of view it is not merely a shame and a disgrace, but a matter of serious loss, economic and social, that families should be living in Lambeth on 20s. or 22s. a week, and paying out of that a rent of 6s., 7s., or 8s. Mrs. Reeves gives instances which, so far as they go, tend to show that economy on rent is dearly paid. Mr. "F.," another carter, only pays 4s. 6d. for rent, but he lives in "two tiny rooms in a very old one-storey cottage, below level of alley way," and has lost five children out of nine. A fishmonger's assistant, whose avarice has advanced him to 24s., spends only 5s. 6d. on the rent of "two fair-sized, but very dark, damp rooms in a deep basement," and he has lost three children out of seven, though he has an average of 3½d. a day per head for food. It looks as though the habitations were at least as important as the food from the point of view of the children. The figures published by Mr. Rowntree in the "Contemporary Review" last October go to show that if the rent did not exceed 5s., the minimum wage of an average family might be put between 23s. and 24s. But in these cases at Lambeth we have to add another 2s. to get minimum housing accommodation, and we are forced to conclude that at present prices the minimum fair wage in London can hardly be less than 26s. a week. Moreover, the grave question arises, whether, if actual wages were increased, the landlord would not be able to mop up the whole or the greater part of it. Mrs. Reeves seems to suggest at the close of her investigations that the prospect of securing genuine economic independence for the unskilled worker is remote, and lays stress on the necessity of feeding and medical provision for the children. The inference we should draw is rather that housing accommodation must be taken in hand along with wages. House-room is by far the most expensive article in these budgets, and houses are of all necessities the most heavily taxed. Long years ago there sat, and there reported, a Commission which told us how to remit that tax, and lower the cost of building. But Governments of both parties have agreed in neglecting that report. Some day, perhaps, it will occur to some one to act upon it, and it may then become possible for a workman to get three or four decent rooms for less than a third of his income. Meanwhile, if we have not yet ascertained precisely what a living wage is, Mrs. Reeves has helped us to understand what it is not.



### "THE GOOD PEOPLE."

LIKE the fairy islands of Hy Brasil, which from the west coast of Ireland are to be seen glimmering on the far horizon about once in every seven years, and would remain for ever constant there as places of celestial refuge and eternal youth, if only one could put a flame of fire on them, so the happy island of Home Rule is now again in sight. And as mortal adventurers first landing on Hy Brasil would have to decide what relations to hold with the magic natives there, the Irish are wisely considering their future relations with the large, though rather dwindling, population of fairies among them. For the last twenty years or more, the question has been prominent. Some of the most distinguished poets now using the English language, such as Mr. Yeats and "A. E.," have done their utmost to reveal to the world the mystic nature of their proper fairyland. They have even been obliged to instruct the Irish themselves in it. We remember once seeing an exact representation of the momentous scene when Mr. Yeats introduced Mr. George Moore to the Queen of the Fairies, and Mr. George Moore has himself lately told us how "A. E." was conducting him to an enchanted lake on a mountain height where he would very likely have beheld a fairy apparition, if his socks had not gone wrong, and prevented him from reaching the spot.

It is true that some of the younger Anglo-Irish poets, materialised by contact with France or England, have attempted to make light even of the bean-sidhe, or wailing woman-fairy, and John Synge wrote rather contemptuously of the "plumed, yet skinny Shee" (*i.e.*, Sidhe). But there were signs that even Synge's scepticism was shaking before he died, and now, to add to the explorations of scholar-poets, like Dr. Douglas Hyde, in uncharted fairyland, comes Mr. Evans Wentz, bringing to the task, if we may judge from his name, a German thoroughness combined with that Celtic quality of facing facts and keeping one eye always fixed on things as they are—a quality for which Mr. Shaw tells us Irishmen are specially distinguished. In Mr. Wentz's case, a dash of American shrewdness is also probably added to these valuable powers, for we gather from his preface that he was born and bred in California. German thoroughness, Celtic perception of reality, American shrewdness—those are surely just the qualifications we should demand for an explorer in the realm of faery, and the combination gives an exceptional importance to Mr. Wentz's book on "The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries" (Frowde).

In spite of such advantages, however, Mr. Wentz had considerable difficulties to contend against. He spent a year in Oxford, studying Celtic things and language, but when he started in search of fairyland, his mind was still a blank upon the object that he sought. "When I set out from Oxford in June," he says—and we find 1908 was the year—"I had no certain or clear ideas as to what fairies are." He has clear and certain ideas now, but the knowledge took him about two years of travelling in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, Brittany, Cornwall, and the island that we vulgarly call Man, as short for Manannan-Beg-Mac-y-Leir—too long a name for the Liverpool tripper. A more delightful range of travel no mortal could imagine; but, after all, two years is a long time to spend in fairyland, and Mr. Wentz was confronted by other difficulties. It is natural that fairies should be found only in wild and beautiful Celtic countries. They do not inhabit modern cities, nor, if they did, could the citizen perceive them; for, as Mr. Wentz observes, there is nothing in London, Paris, Berlin, or New York to waken the unfamiliar part of man—call it the subconscious self, the subliminal self, the Ego, or what you will—by which we become most readily acquainted with fairies. That was to be expected, and absence from the comforts of city civilisation is no more to be deplored when you are searching for fairies in Ireland than when you are searching for pygmies in darkest Africa. But it must have been a little confusing to find how greatly fairies vary with the landscape, even in regions most remote from electric light.

"For example," writes Mr. Wentz, "amid the beautiful low-lying green hills and gentle dells of Connemara (Ireland),

the 'good people' are just as beautiful, just as gentle, and just as happy as their environment; while amid the dark-rising mountains and in the mysterious cloud-shadowed lakes of the Scotch highlands there are fiercer kinds of fairies and terrible water kelpies, and in the Western Hebrides there is the much-dreaded 'spirit-host' moving through the air at night."

There was a further difficulty, which many might overlook—the absence of suitable words with which to discuss fairyland. As Mr. Wentz justly says, a saint cannot explain ecstasy to a man who has never felt it; and it is the same in dealing with fairies, "for only a few men and women can assert that they have seen fairies, and hence there is no adequate vocabulary to describe them." That may be so as a general rule, but there are exceptions, and it does not always follow that people are unable to describe what they have not seen. Think of newspaper correspondents; or take a more appropriate instance from a recent book by "George Birmingham," himself so Irish and free from illusions. He tells of an English lady who was delighted with the fairy-lore she was collecting in Donegal, and, how, one evening, after parting from her, a friend of his was going back across the bog, with a local farmer for pilot—

"They had only gone a few yards when his guide stopped, and with a quizzical twinkle in his eye remarked significantly: 'Thim English are divils on fairies, sir.' 'What do you mean?' asked my friend. 'The lady inside, sir,' with a jerk of his thumb. 'Oh, I see,' replied my friend, 'you're the man who has been telling her all about the fairies.' 'And why not? Sure she wanted to know, and I told her all I could, tho' sorra fairy or ghost ever I seen in my life.'"

From this it is evident that even persons of low education may describe fairies accurately without first-hand knowledge of them. However, we do not wish to make light of the difficulties that Mr. Wentz overcame, still less of his triumph in arriving at clear and certain ideas of what fairies are. His conclusions as to their nature and the reality of their existence are strictly based upon the evidence he collected, and, indeed, the events of every day continually confirm them. Within the last fortnight, for instance, the following case came before the Athlone District Council, as reported in the "Times." In the village of Lacken dwells a laborer named Kilduff, inhabiting a cottage so windy that, to use his own language, it would give rheumatism to a wild duck. To save him from the wild duck's fate, the Council allotted him an acre under the Laborers' Act, and promised to build him a cottage there. Soon afterwards, however, Kilduff came to give up his allotment, because the old "rath" or "fort" upon it would have to be removed to make room for the cottage, and he refused to interfere with "the fairies' home." He boldly declared he was afraid of the fairies, and preferred his own windy dwelling. Another man, named Gelleran, having less scruple about fairy eviction, and keeping his eye less steadily fixed on things as they are, applied for the plot.

And a lively time he is likely to have of it! Everyone knows that the raths, or ancient dwellings and fortresses scattered throughout Ireland, are the chosen abodes of the Sidhe. Whether the Sidhe are the relics of the people of Dana, driven into the invisible world by the sons of Mil, or the surviving forms of Druid and Celtic gods, on those raths they dwell, there they are most frequently beheld—little men and women, sometimes in green, but more usually in red, and sometimes tall, beautiful, and dignified; and there the music of their elfland horns is most frequently heard. They are fond of mortals, of fair girls, and especially of proper young men, and should any such sleep upon a rath, ten to one they are "taken" (that is the word Mr. Wentz always uses, though we think the common word "swept" is more expressive). They are swept and borne away by those who can make them ride upon the winds—

"Run on the top of the dishevelled tide,  
And dance upon the mountains like a flame!"

Or they are borne away to dwell for ever in the land of Tirnanog—

"Where nobody gets old and godly and grave,  
Where nobody gets old and crafty and wise;  
Where nobody gets old and bitter of tongue."



These facts are well known, and such a fate might appear enviable, but weak human nature is generally frightened of it, and the raths are best avoided, except by ill-favored people, who are usually safe anywhere. It is hard to say in general whether the Sidhe influence is benign or malignant. The Sidhe are spoken of as "the good people," "the little people," "the people," or "the gentry" in terms of honor or affection, but the intention may be to avert evil by flattery, much as the Greeks called the Avengers of Blood, Eumenides. On the whole their present influence seems to be malign, especially in such magical processes as baking, milking, and churning, and it is always wise to put out milk and potatoes for them, and to leave a little butter on the knife. At certain seasons, especially on Midsummer Eve and at Samhain (let an Englishman spell it without pronunciation if he would be understood, but it only means All Saints' Eve—that universal festival of the dead)—on those occasions you may see hundreds of little fires kindled up and down the country, thick as the August "grottoes" in London suburbs, and the children will say the fires are lit to keep off the little people. It is possible that this idea of malignity is a misrepresentation of innocent creatures, due to priests who regarded a spiritual world outside their doctrine with suspicion. Mr. Wentz supports this view with the opinion of a Catholic priest, we think from Galway:—

"My private opinion is," he said, "that in certain places here in Ireland where pagan sacrifices were practised, evil spirits, through receiving homage, gained control, and still hold control, unless driven out by exorcisms."

That opinion appears to us a little harsh. Of course, there are various kinds of fairies, just as there are various kinds of other people. The proverb, "Little and good," no doubt has its exceptions. There are some fairies that haunt battlefields, as was seen at the Battle of Clontarf close to Dublin, early in the eleventh century, when fairies shrieked and fluttered over the heads of the combatants, together with sprites and maniacs of the valley, witches, goblins, and owls. Others, again, as is well known, haunt race-courses, and almost always remain invisible, but must be assumed malignant. We are not, on account of these instances of depravity, driven to condemn the whole fairy race. We believe the great majority of them to be fairly well disposed, and even affectionate towards those who treat them kindly, as indeed most human beings are. Mr. Wentz mentions a house built beside a rath near Mullingar where the washing hung out to dry would frequently float away like balloons though there was no wind, and slowly float back again if the woman asked a blessing on the fairies. It is impossible to attribute malignity to such action; indeed, the process of drying may actually have been assisted. Nor could we think evil of the feet that dance on the Navan Rings, swim in Lough Gur, or climb the heights of Slieve Gullion and Ben Bulbin by Sligo, where anyone may see the fairies' white door on the face of an inaccessible cliff. There is the door; the cliff is inaccessible; who, then, but fairies could put the door to use? In many such mountains and waters the fairies have their palaces, but they do not despise the haunts of sacred trees and wells, where they will foretell the happy marriages of maids by making the crooked pin to float—rarely, it is true; but, then, happy marriages are rare.

To account for this fairy realm, surrounding ordinary life like impalpable air, but sometimes visible and audible to the proper eyes and ears, Mr. Wentz assumes an "X-quantity" in the universe not yet explored. It may be so, but it is a little difficult to be certain about these things, and many of us are content with the large number of indisputable but equally magical "X-quantities" outside fairyland, such as the unexplored power that creates in the heart of man a true Tirnanog, Land of Perpetual Youth and Eternal Memory, where dwell the great presences of Owen Roe, Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmett, Parnell, and so many other heroes who were "swept."

#### A MEMORY OF MAZZINI.

THERE is no paradox in life more certain than that personality, of all things the most evanescent, is of all things the most permanent. It would seem as though a man who was before all else a personal influence must die with his generation. One by one the disciples who drew a transitory heroism from his inspiration are absorbed into the humdrum business of the world. They figure at length in their circles as old men who have a store of anecdote about the hero. His deeds are traced and measured and belittled by the scientific historian. His writings, which once were carried contraband over a guarded frontier to make a bonfire for dying tyrannies, are at last the dead things which collectors store in museums. The last of the old men and women who knew him sink into the grave, and where is the memory which has no heart to warm it? So it would seem to one who moralises coldly. The life of a hero may be three-score years and ten, and it is a miracle if he haunts the next generation, a ghost who lives among its grey hairs. These gloomy thoughts are false. There is in the personality of a good man a force of persistence and survival stronger than his deeds, more enduring than his words. It will count for centuries after his death that no gallant soul could approach him without loving him. It is something that thrones shook when he wandered in disguise. It is more that around him, wherever he dwelt in penury, danger, and sickness, men and women bowed before his nobility, were proud to win his love, and thought of him as the purest man who in our days has walked the earth. We are not sure what power the essays on morals, politics, and religion, which had an inspiration for our generation in its youth, are destined to exert in the future, and it may be that they will seem vague and meaningless in a world which has not known the struggle against crude despotism, and builds its ideals on a massive foundation of science. We doubt whether history will care to remember much that Mazzini did and attempted after that first fiery apostolate which had its brief climax of glory in the rise and fall of the Roman Republic. But this we do predict with an absolute assurance: the memory of the man who was an embodied faith, the haunting beauty of his mind and life, even the physical attraction of his person, will live while the world can honor courage, devotion, and indomitable will.

It is not to an elaborate biography that we must look for the perpetuation of such a memory. There is as yet no adequate biography of Mazzini on a great scale, though we are grateful for the readable and fair-minded sketch of his life by Mr. Bolton King, of which a welcome reprint has just appeared in "Everyman's Library." The book which, to our thinking, best conveys the impression which he made on a generous soul who saw him from the first as hero and saint, is the little volume ["Letters and Recollections of Mazzini." (Longmans.)] which Mrs. Hamilton King has written in extreme old age. Mrs. King knew him only in the last, sad period of his life, after the Sicilian Expedition, when he was an exile from the land which owed to him its resurrection. To all others he seemed to have triumphed; to himself alone his work was failure. Broken in health and hope, he sadly pursued his round of duty, and his activity was the incessant scheming and conspiring which had become with him almost a monomania, for ends which brought to him no moment of joy when at last they were achieved. He united Italy, and she seemed to him, when she stood before him, a soulless Frankenstein. He helped towards the recovery of Venice, and the success was nothing but a shame. He saw Rome at last Italian, and he could not bring himself, in the bitterness of his disillusionment, to set foot within her walls. Success was to him, when he measured it by his ideal of a chivalrous and spiritually-minded Italian Republic, an uglier thing than all the heroic defeats of youth, when a price was on his head and his comrades fell one by one in the forlorn hopes on which he sent them. His star, as he once put it, was the dog, and his mission was to bark. It was in this sad period that Mrs. King knew him, and

yet the whole impression of her recollections and correspondence is one of serenity and beauty of soul. It was from the first a rare and romantic attachment. She wrote to him, a complete stranger, a young, enthusiastic girl, then composing her first glowing poems on Orsini, a lonely and rebellious spirit in a hostile circle, to offer herself as a nurse for the expedition which ended in the pitiable catastrophe of Aspromonte. For some years they corresponded without meeting, and the strange, affectionate intimacy which arose in this way is itself a tribute to the magnetism and the insight of the man. He was loved by those who never had seen him, and, rarer still, he had the sense for the value of one fine personality which enabled him, with all his miseries and preoccupations, to read the mind behind the letters, and to treat the devotion of this young girl to the Italian cause as a thing of priceless worth.

It was this sensitive humanity in Mazzini which really made his greatness. He combined in himself habits of thought which are commonly incompatible. The prophet who sees, as he saw it, a great landscape vision of the future of humanity, and describes with a torrent of fiery words the new Republic of duty and religion, is rarely a man of detail and method. But this was a prophet who would sit day after day in his lonely room, endlessly writing letters in his fine hand on those famous thin scraps of conspirators' paper, never neglecting to answer a correspondent, nor failing, for all his Latin blood and revolutionary training, in the minutiae of punctuality and method. It was even said of this prophet of the visions and splendors, that his fault was to lose himself in detail. But stranger still in a man who had devoted himself to an objective end, and had sacrificed love and health and peace and friends to the ideal of a united Republican Italy, was the leisure of mind and soul which he found to realise other minds. To most men who have devoted themselves to such an impersonal end as this, the men and women about him are only the tools to be used in hewing it out of fact. Where other men would have had lieutenants, he had disciples; where other men had associates, he had friends. To share with him in any degree his high purpose, to be capable with him in any measure of devotion and self-sacrifice, was to enter into a relationship of personal love. So it is of his gentleness, his purity, his domestic affections, that Mrs. King chiefly writes, and it is his power of sympathy and insight that his letters to her chiefly illustrate. She could count the number of times that she had actually met him; yet the long intervals of absence and illness never broke the tie of intimacy. From the first, even before he had met her, he had read her mind and established the bond of spiritual sympathy. Of politics there is little in this book, and of Mazzini's philosophy of life only one letter that is highly significant. But we see him as he appeared to those who loved him. It is the gospel according to Martha, the revelation of Bethany.

There is in this book an account from the lips of Madame Roselli, who nursed him, of Mazzini's end:

"On the last day he suddenly appeared to enter into some tremendous conflict with an invisible enemy. There seemed a terrible struggle against a mortal foe, with incoherent and broken words of agony. All at once, he sat up strongly in bed, and, in a loud voice, cried out, 'Si! Si! Credo in Dio!' and with these words fell back and expired."

It was such a conflict, but always with the same triumphant end, which must have marked the whole of his later years. The moral problem which he had to resolve was of appalling intricacy. He had cherished an ideal, and the ideal had failed. For it he had sent young men to their death—the best and bravest in Italy—broken friendships, shattered parties, and embittered life. He would not take refuge in a subjective morality. It was not enough to have been brave and true and unflinching. From that sort of egoism he recoiled, as every strong and honest spirit must. His was a social morality; there was no one wholly good save in a free and ennobled society. Was, then, the impulse and the striving wasted and lost? He found his answer, where every religious man before him has found it. It is con-

veyed in a profoundly significant but extremely compressed letter to Mrs. King, which is full of fine thoughts. He reminds her that action is not with us what it is with God. We attempt what He achieves; we wish when we cannot attempt—

"Surrounded as we are by an overwhelming atmosphere of materialism, we are too ready to think that we do nothing when we wish, and that when we cannot transform realities we are utterly powerless. . . . But is not the last wish of the martyr, the strong, silent, unheard belief of the fettered prisoner, reaching God and weighing on the fate of Humanity?"

With that faith the fettered prisoner found release. He wrestled at the end with that stifling atmosphere of materialism, and uttered his strong Credo as he made his sally through it. The wish lives on. What he attempted was foiled by recalcitrant fact. His aspiration abides with us still, and lives because he was a man far greater than his mind, a man who made for himself in the loves of those about him a vehicle which will convey his personality to centuries to come, the man who dared all, the man who of all others believed.

## SHAKESPEARE IN THE THEATRE.

### II.

#### POSITION OF THE EDITORS.

MALONE observes that the two chief duties of an editor are to show the genuine text of an author and to explain his obscurities. This, it must be admitted, is the view taken by all his contemporaries, and it is followed by not a few scholars to-day. Unfortunately, while Malone spares no pains to amend a corrupt text in the hope of arriving at verbal accuracy, he has little scruple about marring Shakespeare's scheme of drama. "All the stage directions," he writes, "throughout this work I have considered as wholly in my power, and have regulated them in the best manner I could." To do this is to run counter to an editor's province and duty. For a dramatist to know that his text is correct affords him small consolation if his story has been misunderstood and mutilated. It is doubtful whether scholars who insist on editing Shakespeare's dramas as if they were anything or everything else except drama, have any just claim to the title of experts. When Dr. Johnson contends that Shakespeare was "read, admired, and imitated while he was yet deformed," he is indirectly praising deformity. All the eighteenth-century editors blame Shakespeare for the management of his "fable," and attribute it to his ignorance, while many modern editors overlook altogether his art of making a play. The late Dr. Furnivall's introduction to the "Leopold Shakespeare," which has been deservedly and universally praised, has yet one vital defect as criticism. His comments apply more to the art of a novelist than to that of a playwright.

The arguments brought forward in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy are a striking illustration of the imperfect knowledge of editors as to the playwright's art. While the Baconians pride themselves on discovering a similarity in the phraseology or philosophical sentiments of the two writers, they forget that Shakespeare was pre-eminent in the writing of drama—an art that is as difficult to master as that of a painter or a musician, and in which the hand of an amateur can be as easily detected; an art for which Bacon had slight opportunities of training and showed no aptitude. A novelist who describes characters vividly was once asked why she seldom made them talk. Her answer was, "I have little talent for writing dialogue; when my characters speak they often cease to be the same people." Undoubtedly Bacon would have given a similar answer to anyone attributing to him the plays of Shakespeare. There is even a wide difference between the art of writing dialogue for the novel and for the play. The novelist has innumerable means of escape from difficulties that beset the dramatist. The skill required for successfully conducting the story of a play by means limited to the use of dialogue makes the dramatist's art one of the most difficult to succeed in, and puts it outside the reach of all but the few and the specially gifted. To illustrate Shakespeare's constructive art, it is only necessary to look at the old play of



"King John," on which his own play is based. Then, to take an instance from a later play, "Twelfth Night," Viola, when first seen on the stage, is a castaway, rescued by sailors; after an interval of one short scene she reappears as Cesario, the Duke's favorite page. How can the gap be most naturally bridged over? Many dramatists would add dialogue detached from the story. But Shakespeare, with three words, flashes a picture on the spectator's mind, which tells him all he need know. Valentine says to Viola, as they both enter the stage together, "If the Duke continue these favors towards you, Cesario, you are like to be much advanced," &c. In scheming the sequence of incidents and in suppressing explanatory narrative lies the art of the dramatist. This result is not obtained without a good deal of practice. Even Shakespeare could not have written a play so compact as "Twelfth Night" at a period when he was writing "The Two Gentlemen of Verona."

In his young days, Shakespeare must certainly have read "Gorboduc," with its five acts, its five dumb shows, and its chorus; he may, perhaps, have seen it revived at Greenwich Palace, or elsewhere, and have seen other plays of the kind which were written in five acts by academicians, amateurs who were anxious to air their learning before Queen Bess at the Universities or at the Inns of Court. Then there was Ben Jonson at hand to instruct his elder rival on the superiority of Latin comedy. Chapman, too, who was highly esteemed by clergy and scholars, was within call to point out to "artless Will" the merits of Senecan tragedy. In fact, the Bard of Avon had good reason to know why his playhouse dramas were despised by the learned who, however, were not justified in presuming that he was ignorant of classical conventions simply because he chose to ignore them.

No doubt it was possible in Shakespeare's time to write plays in five acts for the public stage. We know that at the "Rose" and "Fortune" theatres the action of the play was often suspended to allow of dancing and singing, but whether these intervals for interludes came after the termination of each act it is difficult to decide.\*

It must, also, be remembered that of the plays wholly written by Shakespeare, with the one exception of "The Tempest," all are so constructed that characters who leave the stage at the end of an episode are never the first to reappear, a reappearance which would involve a short pause and an empty stage; nor, even, does a character who ends one of the acts marked in the folio ever begin the one that follows, as Ben Jonson directs shall be done in his tragedy of "Sejanus" (1616). Now, are we to suppose that this disappearance of characters, followed by the entrance of other characters, so consistently carried out by Shakespeare in his plays throughout the whole of his dramatic career, was an accident and not an intention on his part? In acted drama, moreover, the place where a pause comes in the movement of the story is a matter of importance to the proper understanding of the play. Yet, in the first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays the divisions made are so irrelevant to the story that Heminge and Condell may have considered them as merely ornamental. It may never have occurred to them that the divisions would some day be used as an authority for actors as well as for readers. The result has been disastrous to both. A slavish adherence to these unfortunate divisions by the actor, for over two hundred years, has caused the representation of Shakespeare's plays on the stage to be in most cases unintelligent, if not almost unintelligible; while, on the other hand, it has for an equally long period been the means of misleading scholars as to Shakespeare's method of dramatic construction. Until editors ignore the acts and scenes in the folio edition of 1623 and take the form of the play as it appears in the quartos—that is, without divisions—no progress can be made with the

study of Shakespeare's dramatic art. It is now more generally recognised, especially by American scholars, that the folio divisions are a real stumbling-block and must go overboard. In some of the early comedies, perhaps, pauses can be made where the acts are marked in the folio without serious injury to the representation, but the comedies were written to be acted without break, and gain immensely when so given. Besides, the lengths of the present divisions are absurdly unequal. The last act of "Love's Labor Lost" is more than twice the length of the first act, and nearly four times the length of the second and third acts. In a theatre, it should be the shortest act. Then, the "Comedy of Errors" was acted as an interlude at Gray's Inn. Time there would not allow of its having four intervals. When Shakespeare composed his first love-tragedy, and throughout his middle and later periods, cutting up the movement of his plays for the purpose of set intervals was never his intention. To put more than one break into "Romeo and Juliet," "The Merchant of Venice," "Macbeth," "King Lear," "Hamlet" (acting version), injures the drama. Shakespeare rarely cares to draw breath until he has reached the crisis, nor should the reader be expected to do so. But to halt for talk and refreshments on the eve of a crisis is to play havoc with the story. The crisis should come in the "Merchant of Venice" at that part of the play marked in the folio, Act III. sc. 1. But it is almost impossible for an actor to be animated in a scene following an *entr'acte*. The story of Macready and the ladder is too well known for repetition.

It cannot too often be urged that Shakespeare invented his dramatic construction to suit his own particular stage. For unity of design his plays want nothing added to them, and but little taken from them. Except for the special conditions of the Elizabethan playhouse, they might never have come into existence at all; for Shakespeare's genius was not adapted to writing plays with intervals for music, as was done at Court. "Scene indivisible" is his motto. The internal evidence of the plays themselves proves this.

Dr. Johnson, then, was right to contend that Shakespeare wrote his plays as they were first printed "in one unbroken continuity," but to infer that "they ought now to be exhibited with short pauses interposed as often as the scene is changed, or any considerable time is required to pass," shows that Johnson failed to grasp the object for which Shakespeare adopted the continuous movement. An Elizabethan audience was absorbed by the story of the play, and thought little about change of place or lapse of time. There was only one locality recognised, and that one was the platform, which projected to the centre of the auditorium, where the story was recited. There was, besides, only one period, and that was "now," meaning the moment at which the events were being talked about or acted. All inconsistencies, then, that are apparent in the text, arising from change of place or break in the time, should be ignored in representing the play. It is no advantage to rearrange the order of the scenes, or to lower the curtain, or to make a pause in the progress of the story in order to call attention to change of place or interval of time. Whatever information Shakespeare wished the audience to have on these matters, he put into the mouths of his characters, and he expected the audience to accept it without any questioning or further illustration by actual presentation. Elizabethan folksongs are sung without pausing between the verses. In this way attention is fixed on the story. Shakespeare obtains the same result by dispensing with the empty stage.

Capell long ago pointed out the real difficulty, when he wrote in his preface: "Neither can the representation be managed nor the order and thread of the fable be properly conceived by the reader till the question of acts and scenes be adjusted." Unfortunately, Capell could prescribe no remedy. To this day these irregular divisions continue, and all our modern editions need re-printing and re-editing. One of the debts we owe to our great dramatist is to present his plays in their authentic form. This is due to him for what he has done

\* If the four choruses in "Henry V." were intended by Shakespeare to denote act divisions, they are not so marked in the first folio. "The Tempest," which may have been divided into acts by Shakespeare, has stage directions which suggest that it was not first written for representation in the public theatre.



for us. It is useless to set up a National Theatre in his honor if we do not intend to interpret his plays there in the spirit in which he conceived them.

WILLIAM POEL.

## Present-Day Problems.

### THE NATION AND THE MINES.

IN theology and metaphysics it is possible to pursue indefinitely the policy of looking your difficulties boldly in the face and passing on. In practical economics it is not possible, for there come times when the passage is blocked. The situation alike in the coal-mining and the railway industry of this country presents just such an *impasse*. Last summer's railway strike, followed by this still more momentous stoppage in the coal trade, has forced the pace of economic education, and has brought thousands of thoughtful citizens in all parts of the country, who would shrink with horror from the imputation of Socialism, to confront, without flinching, the nationalisation of our mines and railways as the only escape from an impossible situation. Sober Liberal newspapers like the "Westminster Gazette" and the "Daily Chronicle" have treated the proposal as a not unlikely outcome, and business men, apart from all considerations of political or industrial theory, are beginning everywhere to canvass the feasibility of this solution.

To students of industrial movements who, like myself, have long contemplated the final necessity of State ownership and operation of these fundamental industries, this ripening of public opinion comes as a mournful consolation amid the current embarrassment. As soon as the coal-beds, situated in a few patches of country, displacing human, horse, wind, and water power, became the dominant source of industrial and transport energy, this consummation became inevitable. So long as the organisation of capital and labor in these two closely related and interdependent trades was rudimentary and uneven, this necessity was not apparent. For it is only reached, either when effective competition, giving place to combination, places the consuming public at the mercy of a private monopoly in some necessary of life, or when the organisations of employers and employed have attained so strong a national solidarity that a quarrel between them threatens a total stoppage of what is in effect a necessary national service. Both these conditions press now with different degrees of intensity in our mines and railways. The recent amalgamations of railway interests, and the growth of Conferences have almost nullified the protection which competition formerly afforded to traders and travellers, and State regulation of rates cannot afford any adequate or lasting security to the public. Capital and labor in the railway world, organised upon a national basis, now confront each other in a watchful attitude of open antagonism which shows no appearance of yielding to the pacific arrangements set up by the Board of Trade. As long as the real highways of the nation are operated so as to secure the highest rate of profit for private groups of investors, there is no security for cheap, convenient, and reliable transport for the travelling and shipping public, and no reliable means of preventing strikes or lock-outs from stopping traffic.

The inherent contradiction between the operation of our national mining industry for private profit and the needs of the nation is even more deep-rooted, though it has required the present dramatic crisis to make it visible to the naked eye. There is indeed in the mining industry no such complete pooling of interests and no such close agreements upon prices as prevail in the railways. Such interference with competitive prices as takes place is mainly a rigging of the retail local markets. But the public interests are none the less imperilled. For as coal has become a chief necessary source of light, traction, and industrial power for our producers and consumers alike, the demand for a sufficient, reliable, and moderately-priced supply has grown constantly more urgent. On the other hand, the actual conditions of the

trade afford a less and less effective guarantee of such a supply. Heavy and incalculable fluctuations of price occur at the pit-mouth and in the local markets, and increasing friction between owners and miners aggravates the trouble. The labor problem will remain even more acute in coal-mining than in the railways. For the issues of wages and conditions of working are more intricate, and vary more from district to district and from mine to mine, than is the case with railways, while the State has none of the rights of intervention and ultimate compulsion in the former industry which it has in the latter. Nor must it be forgotten that, whereas the railways comprise entirely a domestic industry, nearly one-third of our coal-mining is for export trade—a difference of vital import in the settlement of all wage questions affecting costs of production.

It may be said that these considerations do not justify us in holding that no safe settlement in coal-mining is possible except by nationalisation. The acceptance of the principle of a daily district minimum by the owners, as the result either of voluntary concession, or even of legal enactment, may, it will be argued, lead to satisfactory agreements of an enduring sort between capital and labor. This is, perhaps, possible, but only upon two conditions, neither of which is likely to be fulfilled. Assume the acceptance of the principle, and even an agreement upon the district minimum. If these minima operated so that in all districts, all mines, all parts of the mine, the normal output per diem per man were maintained, so that as much coal as before were got at no higher labor-cost, the owners might be satisfied. But is it seriously arguable that all the minima will be low enough to leave to all grades of workers incentives to exertion equal to those under the previous system, or that any slight deficiencies will be compensated by better economies in "trams," "tubs," and other mine arrangements? Though this accepted minimum might work satisfactorily in most cases, there are certain to be some districts, or some mines, or some grades, where trouble will recur, and where a sharp conflict of interests between miners and owners will again lead to threats of general stoppage. It is extremely unlikely that the application of the principle of a minimum for all workers will not be attended in some cases by an actual rise in the labor-cost of coal-getting. If so, this coal cannot be worked under private enterprise, and the stoppage of its working brings unemployment to the miners and a rise of price to consumers, from a reduction of the general output. Such an issue of the adoption of "the principle of a minimum" would not prove satisfactory to any of the three parties interested in coal-mining—the owners, the miners, or the consumers.

In the second place, a present settlement upon this basis could have no permanence. The concessions which the miners would have to make upon the scheduled minimum of their districts would leave a lasting discontent. Attempts would continually be made to raise the scales. For it must be borne in mind that a guaranteed daily wage, even were it fixed at a satisfactory level, does not solve the really urgent problem of furnishing a regular sufficient weekly income for a mining family. When a slack period of trade ensues, the weekly takings will fall below the required amount. The difference between five days' work and four or three is really vital. In any case, however, there can be no reasonable doubt but that steady pressure would be exercised by the trade unions for the raising of the minimum. This, indeed, is avowed by the miners, and the owners rightly urge that the concession of "the principle" upon their part will not purchase immunity from further demands.

It is idle to blink the situation. The miners have learnt its logic. They are aware that they wield a weapon more formidable than that in the hands of any other body of workmen, the power to paralyse industry and bring grave embarrassment into every home. They have the legal right to use this weapon, and the completeness of their organisation enables them to use it with immediate effect. They have seen the nation cowering before their menace, and a helpless Government in an attitude of supplication. These men believe that they

have not been getting a fair share of the fruits of prosperity in the mining industry. They know that many companies have been paying very high dividends, and they are aware that millions are paid every year in royalties to persons who do nothing in return. They know nothing of "marginal mines," "wasting securities," and the "law of diminishing returns." They only see large profits and rents earned by their labor in the mines, which they desire to divert into higher rates of wages. The only present way they see of getting it is to coerce the public into coercing the mine-owners into conceding it. The only way by which the mine-owners can defend their threatened interests will be by formal concessions, which they will try to withdraw or whittle down in detailed practice. This has been the railway policy, it will be the mining policy, justified in each case by business exigencies. For the mine-owners, like the railway managers, are well aware that the economics of this trade-union pressure are fundamentally unsound, so far as they involve a raising of labor costs in all parts of the trade, alike in those where the profits are such as can bear the higher wage-bill, and in those where it cannot be borne.

It is because the claim of the miners for a secure and adequate income in return for their labor is equitable in substance and socially desirable, while the method of seeking to enforce it is economically unsound and socially disastrous, that I hold nationalisation of the mining industry to be the ultimate solution. It is likely that it will not come about until minor experiments in State interference and control have been attempted. But they will all be thwarted by the practical impossibility of compelling private profit-making firms to run unprofitable branches of their business in order to maintain the volume of employment and to pay good wages. Such an eleemosynary policy is inconsistent with the very nature of private business enterprise, and cannot be grafted on to it. But it is consistent with the policy of public enterprise, for there it need not be eleemosynary.

As State railways may run lines which do not even cover their expenses because of the public conveniences and other services they render, so State mines which were not "profitable" in a separate business sense, might be worked for the advantage and development of the district in which they lay. While it may be profitable for private companies to pay low "market" rates of wages for their labor, and to allow employment to fluctuate with every passing change of demand, turning off the men that are not wanted, this policy would not pay the State, either in an economic sense or from a wider social standpoint. For what it seemed to save in the immediate wage-bill would be offset by a greater expenditure on poor relief, old-age pensions, unemployment, disease, lunacy, crime, and other maladies caused or intensified by industrial distress. If the public makes up its mind that a real minimum, in the sense of a secure sufficient weekly income, is requisite, in order to maintain order and a civilised existence in the mining communities, it will be driven to recognise that nationalisation of the mines is the only feasible way of getting what it wants. With the objection or difficulty as to whether, even under State ownership, the public would have any adequate security against strikes, I propose to deal in another article.

J. A. HOBSON.

## Communication

### OUR PLEDGES TO PERSIA.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—It has been assumed in THE NATION, and in many other papers, that in the recent debate on Persia Sir Edward Grey, while admitting the authenticity of the document presented by the British Minister at Teheran on September 4th, 1907—commonly known as the Spring-Rice despatch—refused to accept it as binding on the British Government. "He repudiates," you say, "his own Minister." That is not

my reading of Sir Edward Grey's speech; nor do I think it would be possible for any British Government, which has any concern for the national honor, to take such a course. For four years Sir Cecil Spring-Rice's declaration has stood undisputed and unquestioned. If it was unknown to the Foreign Office here, it was perfectly familiar at Teheran, where it was published in full in the Persian Press. For four years the Persian Government have relied—as they had every right to do—on the explicit assurances which it contained. It would be a gross breach of national faith to go back on such a statement now. But Sir Edward Grey's language is uncertain. To many people who heard him he gave the impression of "repudiating," as you say, the authority of his Minister; and it is therefore worth while to ask exactly how we stand in the matter.

Let me recall, first of all, the circumstances under which the declaration was made.

At the end of August, 1907, when the negotiations between England and Russia were being concluded, Persia was already in a state of great unrest. Disorder was on the increase. The revolutionary movement was growing. The Government of the Shah was weak and unpopular; and the rumors which were spreading through the country of a secret agreement between Russia and Great Britain for the delimitation of Persian territory were not calculated to improve the Government's prestige. There is no doubt that to many observers on the spot the situation seemed full of danger; not merely to the stability of the Government, but to the lives of the European colony and to the whole social fabric. All the despatches sent home by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice about this time indicate clearly the anxiety which he felt.

It was in these circumstances that, on September 4th—four days after the signing of the Agreement—Sir Cecil Spring-Rice called on the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and presented his Memorandum. In doing so, he acted, we are now told, without special instructions, considering no doubt that the situation justified immediate action. It was necessary to explain the nature and object of the new Anglo-Russian Agreement; to allay the unfounded rumors that were rife; to reassure public opinion. That is what Sir Cecil Spring-Rice in his statement expressly purports to do; and for the time, at least, he was successful.

The document, apparently, was unofficial in form. On the face of it, says Sir Edward Grey, you could see that it was unofficial. But there is nothing whatever in its contents to indicate that it failed to carry the full authority of the British Government. To suppose that it was a mere private expression of opinion by the British Minister is to mistake its whole tone and character; and no one who takes the trouble to read it through could for a moment make such an assertion. The style of it, indeed, is remarkably forcible. The man who wrote it had no doubt of the meaning he wished to convey, or of his full right to speak. It is the statement of a Minister speaking on behalf of the Government which he represents, and using—as, apparently, he is entitled to do—the name and authority of Sir Edward Grey. "Sir Edward has informed me of the substance of his conversations with the Mushir-el-Mulk, and also of the substance of M. Isvolsky's declarations, *officially* communicated to the British Government." . . . "Both Ministers are fully in accord as to the policy of non-intervention in Persia, and have left no possible ground for doubt in the matter." The Agreement is "based on a guarantee of Persian independence and integrity." . . . "The object of the two Powers in making this Agreement is not in any way to attack, but rather to assure for ever the independence of Persia." . . . They are "not to allow one another to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their own interests."

In all the history of diplomatic communication, there never was a clearer or more emphatic statement.

How a document of this importance should have remained for four years entirely unknown to the British Foreign Office, is perhaps one of the most mysterious circumstances in the whole Persian business, and apart altogether from the immediate situation in Persia, seems to demand some more explanation than the Government have yet given. "He" (Sir Cecil Spring-Rice) "regarded it as so unofficial that he did not send it home at the time, and that is why I never saw it." That is, so far as I



know, the only statement yet made by Sir Edward Grey on this subject; and it can hardly be regarded as a full and adequate explanation. Even although Sir Cecil Spring-Rice did not send home the copy of a document which he had presented without special instructions, under circumstances of unusual importance, did he afterwards make no reference whatever to it? He remained at Teheran more than a month longer, and sent home other communications on subjects of all kinds. Was this alone omitted? On September 7th—only three days after he had presented his memorandum—he received telegraphic instructions from Sir Edward Grey to make a joint communication with the Russian Minister to the Persian Government on the subject of the Agreement; to repeat, in fact—though in shorter and less emphatic language—the same assurances on the subject of Persian independence as he had made on his own responsibility three days earlier. In acknowledging these instructions, did he not say anything of his own memorandum?

Such questions as these naturally occur, and, in asking them, I make no charge against Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, whose eminent and distinguished services to his country are known to us all. I also accept, of course, most fully Sir Edward Grey's statement that he had never seen this document. I am inclined, indeed, to think that if he had seen it, the course of Persian affairs might have been different. But it may fairly be asked how it came about that in a matter of such importance the Foreign Office should have made no inquiries, and at the end of four years could say, as they said last December, "we know nothing at all about it."—Yours, &c.,

PHILIP MORRELL.

February 29th, 1912.

## Letters to the Editor.

### THE DRAMATIC CENSORSHIP.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—I desire to call the attention of the public to the suppression by the Censor of Mr. Zangwill's play, *The Next Religion*, as an illustration of the impossibility of reconciling any sort of censorship whatever with constitutional freedom.

The case is a much more fundamental one than the suppression of my own play entitled *The Showing up of Blanco Posnet*. That was merely a folly, like Dean Milman's when, as Censor of St. Paul's Cathedral, he refused to allow the Wellington monument to be completed by Stevens, his ground being that a cathedral is not a proper place for a horse. If the Bible were sent to the Lord Chamberlain's office to be licensed, the authors would be directed to omit certain lines: for example, the comparison of divine personages to lambs, lions, and other animals, and especially to thieves in the night. And the exclamation of Caiaphas, "He hath spoken blasphemy," would have to be altered to "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." If these strokes of editing were challenged in the House of Commons, Mr. McKenna would refuse to quote the censored passages on the ground that they were too blasphemous. And Sir Herbert Tree, ever ready to help a lame dog over a stile, even after being bitten by it, would come forward to plead that our churches are mainly for the young, and that the lessons must be adapted—like *Othello*—to their innocence.

But this sort of censoring, silly and mischievous as it is, would not occur if the officials had some common-sense, some artistic culture, and sufficient religion to conceive the force behind evolution as something more than a pompous official in whose presence the human race must behave like well-trained butlers. Consequently it takes us no further than proposals to transfer the censorship to advisory committees, courts of appeal, urbane men of the world, or to that quintessence of nonsense invented by the stupidest members of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee: an optional censorship.

Mr. Zangwill's play puts all these palterings with a serious constitutional issue out of court. Mr. Zangwill is a Jew, regarding literature as before all things a spiritual force, and regarding Christianity disinterestedly, much as a

Christian regards Islam. He writes a powerful and interesting play, in which he makes an unsparing and necessary use of "shock tactics" (my own favorite tactics, I may say) to make people aware that a great mass of what is currently called religion, and preached in our churches and chapels to-day, has become obsolete and incredible, except to people who have strong emotional and personal reasons for clinging to certain poetic fictions which shield them from inexorable facts. Now, if the Lord Chamberlain and his Examiners were asked merely to tolerate this, no difficulty need arise. The Lord Chamberlain might issue a certificate in some such form as "Much as I abhor this abominable play, and convinced as I am that it will effect the perdition of innumerable souls, yet I cannot conscientiously declare that it lies outside the principles of toleration set forth in Milton's *Areopagitica*, nor can I suppress it without admitting the right of the author to suppress any expression of my own faith when, as seems quite possible, those who think with him have converted the electoral majority to their views." But the Lord Chamberlain is compelled to go much further than this. He must either virtually approve of the play, and affirm his approval by a deliberate act which is taken by the public as a guarantee of the rightness of Mr. Zangwill's views, or he must suppress it. In such circumstances, how could the play be licensed by anyone except the author himself? Consider the position, for example, of Mr. Brookfield. Mr. Brookfield is a Roman Catholic. To recommend the Lord Chamberlain to license the play, or even to abstain from every available means of protest and dissuasion, would be for him a deadly sin. Now Mr. Brookfield is no longer young. Mr. Hawtrey has assured the public that Mr. Brookfield's health gives ground for anxiety. Mr. Brookfield, in fact, is looking forward to facing a tribunal before which his own plays will require some explanation; and to ask him to incur responsibility for Mr. Zangwill's as well is simply to ask him to risk damnation for Mr. Zangwill's sake. If Mr. Brookfield were a stupid man, he might escape this dilemma partly by not understanding the play, and partly by lacking the reasoning power to see the situation in which it places him. His Church recognizes the plea of Invincible Ignorance. But Mr. Brookfield is not stupid; and he is a Catholic deliberately and by conviction, and not merely by family tradition. And it is just this superiority on his part that makes it impossible for him to pass plays that a mere imbecile or routineer would certify without hesitation.

In short—for Mr. Brookfield's case covers all the possible cases—the more intelligent and conscientious the Censor is, the more impossible it is for him not to use his power to suppress every opinion but his own: that is, to destroy the liberty of the art he censors. The stupidest Censor is the least mischievous. That is why so many of us regret the recent changes.

What is wanted is obvious enough. Treat the Censorship exactly as the Parisians treated the Bastille. Demolish it; plough up its foundations; and sow them with salt, not forgetting handsome pensions to Mr. Brookfield and Mr. Bendall (I hope, by the way, Mr. Redford has not been left dependent on private practice as a Censor, lucrative as that no doubt must be if the confidence in his judgment formerly expressed by the managers was quite sincere). Then extend and adapt the Licensing Acts to the theatres. These Acts give the fullest practicable security to the public against any abuse of trade by vicious or disreputable licensed victuallers, whilst at the same time they protect the licensed victualler equally against the refusal or withdrawal of his licence by bigoted teetotallers. This quite simple and amply precedented measure, combined with the restriction of the power of initiating prosecutions for blasphemy, obscenity, and sedition to the Public Prosecutor (there is precedent for this also), will settle the whole question to the satisfaction of everyone except the managers, who would naturally prefer the present system of insuring against prosecution by a payment of two guineas to the Lord Chamberlain. But if the Licensing Acts had had to wait for the approval of the publicans, they would never have been passed; and if the managers persist in taking the publicans' view of the matter, I am afraid they must be reformed in spite of themselves.—Yours, &c.,

G. BERNARD SHAW.

February 28th, 1912.



## THE LABOR UNREST.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—The controversy which you raise over my book on "The Labor Unrest," covers so wide a field that I could not adequately reply to it without repeating the book, and as I am too modest a person (not to mention your own possible objections to such a course) to ask for a sufficient number of issues of THE NATION for that, I can only ask your readers, before they accept your conclusions about it, to do me the honor, so far as the general controversy is concerned, of studying the book as well as your exposition of the case against it.

But, on the main point in the controversy, I must express my indebtedness to you for going so directly to the heart of the matter. One is so accustomed to find the case against Socialism presented on all sorts of irrelevant side issues and mere appeals to prejudice that it is a joy to anyone with clean fighting instincts to find a critic who goes clear-sightedly for the main point; and upon that I may be permitted a word in reply.

You characterise my interpretation of the labor unrest as a "dramatisation of the catastrophic in history." I deny very emphatically the validity of any such characterisation. It is a favorite device of empiricism in politics to represent comprehensive thinking and an insistence on the need for first principles as impossibilism, as looking forward to some day of Armageddon when the foundations of society will be shaken and a new order inaugurated in catastrophic fashion. Let me assure you, sir, that that is all fudge. The difference between empiricism and synthetic purpose in politics is by no means, as the empiricist is so fond of suggesting, the difference between orderly progress and catastrophic upheaval; and the sooner Liberalism gets that ridiculous nonsense out of its head the better. It is the difference between futile and uncorrelated makeshift and orderly and sustained purpose in the current detail of political work. Permit me to repeat an old parable of mine upon this matter. Suppose I fell ill, and called in a medical man to treat me. "Aha!" says he, "don't trouble to describe your general symptoms to me. Let us stick to the obvious practical details immediately before us. Here is a pimple on your nose. I will anoint and bandage it, and when we have disposed of that we will go on to consider the next detail." Would you be surprised if I fired the man out, and called in a practitioner whose treatment would be based on diagnosis and would aim at my condition as a whole?

That, sir, is precisely the frame of mind in which Liberalism and, to a large extent, the Parliamentary Labor Party are approaching the problem of poverty; bringing, as they call it, a practical mind to bear upon the detail of the moment, grubbing along in a muddle, without any apparent order of things in what they are doing; and their criticism of the Socialist case as impractical and catastrophic is exactly the sort of criticism that a Hottentot medicine man might be expected to pass upon the work of the Royal College of Physicians, the perennial criticism of the quack and the empiricist upon the scientist.

What I have done in "The Labor Unrest" is to show the growing clearness of definition, in the class-consciousness of the wage-earning class and their aims in politics, of comprehensive purpose, synthetically discerned and expressed, in relation to the poverty problem; as against the mere empiricism of patching-up and makeshift reform within the existing order, the ambulance and relief legislation which still leaves the fundamental injustice untouched. That fundamental injustice is the private ownership of the sources of the national wealth; and while it remains, poverty remains, do what you will within the existing order which is defined by that ownership. I am not concerned to quarrel about the use of words, provided we make quite clear what we mean when we use them; but when you describe this view of the matter as a "catastrophic" view, "an apocalyptic vision," and so on, I suggest to you that you are confusing the issue. For the use of such question-begging terms suggests that the issue between us is the issue between orderly progress and the sudden precipitation of a new order of society out of heaven at the ripe instant. The emergence in British politics of a party with this definite Socialist view as to the causes of poverty, using the ordinary

political means to give effect to its purpose, implies no such quality of precipitance or apocalypse; unless, indeed, you are prepared, by the same reasoning, to maintain that any real accomplishment, any actual doing of things, is catastrophic and apocalyptic. For that is the issue between us; not an issue between sudden transformation and orderly progress, but between progress and no progress. The root of the controversy is whether your social reforms within the existing order really do anything at all. I do not argue about that in this letter—as I said at the outset, I should have to transcribe my book over again to do that at all adequately, and if you will turn to it I do not think you will find the proof lacking—but only protest against the description of such an issue as being an issue between your sure-footed pedestrianism in reform and my fairy tale of impossible seven-league boots for political wear. It is not the pace of Liberalism about which I complain, but its want of any purposeful direction and of any real consequences worth mentioning. It is the nature and the efficiency of legislation that will really touch the poverty problem, and not its degree of precipitance, that is the issue between us.—Yours, &c.,

FRED HENDERSON.

Norwich, February 26th, 1912.

["Synthetic purpose" is precisely what we failed to find in Mr. Henderson's presentation of his Socialist policy. He appears to us to seek to produce quick results without adequate or intelligible causes. It was on this account that we described his scheme as "catastrophic"—EDITOR, NATION.]

## PROBLEMS OF HOME RULE.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—In your article on "Problems of Home Rule" you say that as regards Irish finance the British Government will undoubtedly have to retain certain responsibilities. Among these you include Old Age Pensions, which you say were given to suit English ideas and "would never have been adopted by so much poorer a country as Ireland on her own account." England, you say, must remain financially responsible for such a measure in one form or another. Then you would exclude, apparently, "the pledging of Imperial credit for the working of land purchase, for we do not doubt that land-purchase finance would be amply secure under purely Irish control." Surely there must be some mistake here. Every reason that you give for the financing of Old Age Pensions by Great Britain under Home Rule will apply with double force to the case of Irish land-purchase finance. There is no obligation that has been affirmed with greater clearness by both political parties than that of carrying on and completing the great land-purchase settlement that has made Home Rule possible. Were the Irish land question still in the same position that it was in when Mr. Gladstone brought in his last Home Rule Bill, the difficulties in the way of Mr. Asquith would be enormously increased. What makes the road clear is the removal of the Irish landlord system. That removal is only half-accomplished, and no responsible person in Ireland will assert that it can possibly stop now. Putting aside the breach of faith that such a stoppage would entail, it would again throw the country into such turmoil and confusion as to render almost impossible the carrying of a Home Rule measure. You doubtless will say that you do not mean to stop land purchase, but that you would throw the financing and control of it on the Irish Parliament. But, sir, that would be impossible. Irish Land Stock bearing interest at 2½ per cent. now sells at 77; Three per Cent. Irish Land Stock does not fetch more than 85. What would be the result of throwing on Irish resources the raising of £80,000,000 to complete Irish land purchase? The thing simply could not be done. As it is, most Irish local public stocks are extremely difficult to sell. Were the financing of land purchase to be thrown on Irish credit, the country would start with as much hope of success as a Central American Republic. As it is, upwards of £80,000,000 has been paid by Great Britain towards Irish land purchase. Another 30 millions is actually due, and it is estimated that a sum of from 60 to 80 millions in addition will be required to complete the work. This must be supplied by England.

Then comes the question of control of the administration of these enormous sums. It is evident that the country

paying the piper must call the tune. It would be impossible, and even unfair to the new order of things in Ireland, to throw on it such a difficult and contentious matter as Land Purchase Act administration. To give to a body that must be predominantly composed of representatives of agricultural tenants the control of the administration of a fund for the raising of which they are not liable would be unwise as well as unfair. In the administration of the Land Purchase Act matters have every day to be considered with respect to the prices that should be given to owners for their property, and the prices at which that property is to be resold to the tenant-purchasers will naturally depend on the price given to the owner. It would be grievously unjust to give the control of this matter to a body predominantly representative of one side in a battle notorious for its bitterness. Then, it is certain that before land purchase is complete in Ireland some extensive measure of compulsory purchase will have to become law. It would be unfair to leave the framing and administration of such a measure to an Irish Parliament. England is responsible for the mess in which Irish land has been involved, and the responsibility must fall on her of finding the way out. She cannot, in an off-hand fashion, shirk or transfer that responsibility.—Yours, &c.,

IRELANDER.

February 29th, 1912.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—I observe, with lively satisfaction, that in your article under the above heading you accept the principle that the Irish Parliament should be allowed to fix Irish customs and excise duties, provided "that they shall not be so levied as to divert the course of trade or to interpose a barrier between the two islands," and that you do not consider this degree of liberty inconsistent with the financial system of the United Kingdom. For, in conceding this, you admit the propriety of differentiation from Great Britain in all departments of Irish revenue, instead of in direct taxation alone, and you open the door to the creation of an organic and coherent system of Irish finance.

What supporters of fiscal autonomy for Ireland have been fighting for is this—that the Irish Parliament may be genuinely responsible for all expenditure in Ireland of a permanent character, and for finding the ways and means to meet it. Such responsibility is not possible so long as Great Britain dictates to Ireland how she is to raise or to spend any large proportion of her revenue. The problem is to reconcile the erection of a healthy, self-contained Irish finance with a reasonable amount of fiscal unity for the United Kingdom.

How is this to be done? Certainly not by confining Irish control to certain areas of Irish taxation. Certainly not by stereotyping certain kinds of Irish expenditure and labelling them Imperial. A solution on these lines is no solution, and the fact of Ireland's manufactured insolvency is no argument in its favor. However much Ireland may have been overtaxed in the past, she desires to get rid of the taint of mendicancy the very first moment that readjustment of her revenue and expenditure will allow of it. In the meantime, let the subsidy be open and unconditional.

It ought not to be beyond the resources of statesmanship to conquer the difficulties. The suggestion has been made that Ireland should be given the power to fix the amounts of her indirect taxes, but not to vary the list of articles taxed without Imperial consent. Might not this, or something like it, form the basis of a settlement which would include the retention of thirty-five Irish members at Westminster?—Yours, &c.,

FRANK MACDERMOT.

February 27th, 1912.

#### SCOTTISH AND IRISH HOME RULE.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—In your issue of to-day, Mr. MacDermot appeals to me to offer some justification for not supporting any Irish Home Rule Bill which concedes more liberty than Scotland asks for herself. There is some confusion of thought here. Scottish Liberals support Home Rule for Ireland to-day in the same sense as they have long supported

it—namely, the devolution of all purely Irish business to an Irish Parliament, with an Executive responsible to it for purely Irish administration, and the maintenance of the unity and integrity of the United Kingdom. They make exactly the same claim for their own country, and for exactly the same reasons. The Scottish case differs in no essential respect from the Irish case, and to Scotsmen it is of equal urgency and of more direct concern. The experience of the Empire indicates a British federation as the true solution of this problem of government alike for Ireland and for Scotland. Ireland is as naturally associated with England as Scotland is, neither more nor less. Ireland and England should form units in a British federation just as obviously as Quebec and Ontario should in a Canadian federation. Nothing in the Irish case requires the grant to Ireland of full Colonial Home Rule, or of anything like it; and many arguments of great weight could be advanced against such a policy of virtual separation.

The peculiar financial situation of Ireland may require special financial provisions in the Irish Bill which will not appear in the Scottish Bill; but on no account would the mass of Scottish Liberals, I venture to assert, support fiscal autonomy. Home Rule means Federal Home Rule in the minds of Scottish Liberals, and every existing Federation—foreign or colonial—is based upon internal Free Trade and a uniform external customs policy. If Ireland had full control of Irish customs, she would have to be granted the power to negotiate her own tariff arrangements with foreign countries, as Canada does at present, and that would amount to disruption of the United Kingdom. If such a policy had been before the Scottish Electors at recent by-elections, the Government would have lost, not only North Ayrshire, but all the other elections as well.

Mr. MacDermot seems to claim that Irishmen of all shades of opinion have demanded something different from Federal Home Rule. This is not true of Mr. Redmond, who has been a Federalist all along. Speaking on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, he said:—"The Federal idea I understand and sympathise with. I look forward to the day when it may be applied to England, Scotland, and Wales, as well as Ireland." He regarded all four nations as on the same footing when, on May 5th, 1911, he said, in a speech delivered at Edinburgh under the auspices of the Young Scots Society: "This Home Rule question is urgent, not only for Ireland, but for Scotland, Wales, and even England herself." There is no question of applying Irish Home Rule to Scotland or Scottish Home Rule to Ireland. The problem is to apply the Home Rule principle to the national divisions of the United Kingdom in such manner and degree as will meet all reasonable national claims without in any way impairing the unity and integrity of the United Kingdom. The Irish Bill must be drafted with this larger scheme in view, and Scotsmen at least are demanding more and more that the rest of the scheme must follow without delay, during the life of the present Parliament.—Yours, &c.,

WALTER MURRAY.

4, Randolph Road, Jordanhill, Glasgow.

February 24th, 1912.

#### THE GRIEVANCE-HEARER.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—I feel sure that the article which appeared in last week's *NATION*, entitled "The Grievance-Hearer," will be read by many as expressing your disapproval of the action of the London and North-Western Railway Company in appointing an official bearing that name. I cannot think that this was really the intention of the writer of the article, for such an opinion would be diametrically opposed to what I take to be the general policy of *THE NATION*. The title chosen by the London and North-Western Railway Company may possibly lend itself to such humorous sarcasm as your article displayed, but in many large factories, both in this country and abroad, there are men and women who are performing very similar duties, and whose services are of the highest value.

The growing distance which separates the directors of industry from the workers is one of the disquieting features of modern industry. There is much less sympathy between masters and men in the huge industrial concerns of to-day



than there was in the comparatively small workshops and factories of half a century ago, and consequently it is exceedingly easy for misunderstandings to arise which, unless put right at once, may lead to serious difficulties. Anyone who is familiar with the conditions in a large industrial concern knows how difficult it is for the directors to ensure that none of those who hold authority under them are guilty of injustice or harshness, and how difficult it is for the rank and file employee, who suffers through the action of an unreasonable or unjust foreman, to have his grievances brought to light. In the growing number of factories, where Welfare Workers are employed, one of their important duties is to act as intermediaries between the workers and the directors in matters of this kind. Any employee who has a grievance is encouraged to go to the Welfare Worker and discuss it with him. If it is genuine, the Welfare Worker will take it to those whose duty it is to see that the grievance is put right. If it is not genuine, the Welfare Workers, being persons selected on account of their tact, are usually able to explain to the employee the reasons for the action or policy of which he complained.

The appointment of such men as "Welfare Workers" or "Social Secretaries" or "Grievance-Hearers," or whatever you like to call them, is but the outcome of a desire to make the conditions of service in large industrial concerns more human and less mechanical; to let the men feel that it is the desire of the employer that the conditions of their service should be reasonable, and that no injustice should be permitted.

I am sure that such a policy is one of which THE NATION will approve, and I should regret if an article written in a humorous vein should give the impression that THE NATION was opposed to such action as that taken by the London and North-Western Railway Company.—Yours, &c.,

S.

February 28th, 1912.

[Our correspondent is perfectly right in thinking that, far from disapproving of the action of the London and North-Western Railway in appointing a "Grievance-Hearer," that action has our fullest support.—ED., NATION.]

## THE WAR IN TRIPOLI.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—Writing in THE NATION on February 24th, under the heading of "The War in Tripoli," and dealing with "the report of Italian cruelties in Tripoli," "Tanj" says that it is "surprising" that these reports were "at first believed in England, but, judging by the silence of the newspapers on that head lately and by the news of renewed crimes in the Balkans, I think it has become fairly clear that the Italian soldiers were libelled in a most gross manner. They were our friends during the South African War, and there must be many in this country who will be glad to see their character rehabilitated."

This is a queer mixture of assertions and deductions. The newspaper Press deals with the present. It cannot always continue harping on a theme which has passed into history. The newspapers are silent about the Russian pogroms, but does anybody conclude from that silence that "it has become fairly clear" that no pogroms ever took place? And what are we to think of an adviser who is evidently averse from our examining too closely Italy's methods of warfare in Tripoli because Italy did not scrutinize too closely our methods of warfare in South Africa?

Unfortunately, the cruelty of the Italians in Tripoli has been only too clearly established. It was pointed out by all the non-Italians resident in Tripoli. On the other hand, the denials invariably came from Italians in Tripoli, or from Italians and foreigners in Rome, London, Paris, and the Argentine Republic.

Let us take the denials first. We have M. Jean Carrère, the Roman correspondent of the "Temps." M. Carrère was in Rome itself when he made these denials. He had not been in Tripoli when the massacres occurred. We have Mr. Martin Donoghoe, of the "Daily Chronicle." Mr. Donoghoe was quoted all over Italy as denying the massacres. Great stress was laid on his testimony by the Italian Press. The "Corriere della Sera" declared that that testimony was "precious," and that Mr. Donoghoe

had rehabilitated the character of the Italian soldier. But Mr. Donoghoe was not in Tripoli when the massacres occurred, and, speaking on his behalf, the "Chronicle" has denied that he ever made any of the statements attributed to him. Other witnesses who were not in Tripoli at the time were Signor Marconi, Lord Roberts, Mr. Richard Bagot, Mr. Garvin, and the Duke of the Abruzzi. Cabling to the "New York American," the Duke of the Abruzzi declared in his denial that he knew the "American" would take the side of the Italians, identified, as it had always been, with the cause of peoples rightly struggling to be free! Mr. Garvin, of the "Pall Mall Gazette," also said that there had been no massacres. So did Mr. Maxse, of the "National Review." But of what value are these declarations from witnesses who were not on the spot? Of what value would such evidence be in, say, a murder trial, especially if all the people who had been on the spot and had seen the crime committed had been unanimous in fixing the guilt on one man? Hysterical denials from that man himself, from his relatives, and from admirers in distant lands would, I take it, have little effect on an English jury.

Let us now consider for a moment the evidence for the massacres. There was Mr. Ellis Ashmead Bartlett of Reuter's Agency, Mr. Davis of the "Morning Post," Mr. Grant of the "Daily Mirror," the "Times" correspondent, the "Daily Telegraph" correspondent, and the "Westminster Gazette" correspondent. All these are Britishers. In other words, all the British correspondents said that wanton murder had been committed. "Many (innocent oasis Arabs) undoubtedly have been wantonly murdered," said Mr. Bennett Burleigh. "The flood-gates of blood-lust are opened," said the "Times" correspondent, "and in many instances the men got beyond control and the innocent perished with the guilty."

In like manner, all the German correspondents in Tripoli said that there had been a massacre. Two of these six Germans are military officers; one of them, Herr Krause, is a Doctor in Philosophy. One of them speaks Arabic fluently. All of them are Germans from Germany, not Italian correspondents representing German papers. Besides, there was the German Consul, Dr. Tilger, a very able man, knowing Italian, Turkish, and Arabic, standing in every way head and shoulders above his consular colleagues, constantly quoted on the Continent as the greatest authority on every aspect of Tripolitan life. Dr. Tilger knew the Italians well; he had lived twenty years among them. He also knew the Arabs well, and was, consequently, able to obtain from Arab sources particulars of atrocities whereof the correspondents knew nothing. I happen to know that his report, which is now in Berlin, confirms every word which I wrote on the subject of the massacres in the "Westminster Gazette" and the "Daily News." I have reason to believe that it goes far beyond anything which I wrote, and discloses a state of affairs in Tripoli on October 23rd for which General Caneva's dismissal from the Italian army would be the lightest punishment. Besides the testimony of Dr. Tilger, we have that of his dragoman, who also speaks Italian, Arabic, and Turkish, as well as German, and who went about among the Arabs on the days of the massacre and conversed with them.

If, as Mr. Richard Bagot and other apologists of the Italians assert, not a single innocent Arab was killed by the Italians, then the story of the massacre was, as "Tanj" says, a gross libel. The libel would have been so gross that every foreigner in Tripoli would have denounced it. Why did not the Italian Government and the pro-Italian newspapers in this country go to Tripoli itself for evidence? Why did they not appeal to the Consular body, the English and German residents of Tripoli city? Why did they appeal instead to Lord Roberts, to Mr. Richard Bagot, to *sympathique* editors and correspondents in Rome, Paris, New York, and South America? Because they were well aware that all the foreigners in Tripoli knew of the atrocities.

If there had been no atrocities, the English Consul in Tripoli would have said so. Instead of that, he sent to the Foreign Office a statement to the effect that atrocities had been committed. The Italian Press vilified and abused him for sending that statement. While General Caneva was holding a Te Deum in the Cathedral to celebrate his "victory," half-a-dozen Italian correspondents had the im-



pertinence to enter the British Consulate in order to cross-examine the British Consul regarding the statement in question. The Consul would have been justified in showing them the door, but he explained that his statement had not been intended for publication. Thus all the members of the local Consular corps knew that atrocities were committed. All the non-Italian correspondents have borne witness to these atrocities. And yet "Tanj" tells us that "it has become fairly clear that the Italian soldiers were libelled in a most gross manner."

I might add that all the evidence I adduce to prove the massacres comes from men who were connected with the Italian army. All the British and German correspondents I have mentioned had been favored with passes from General Caneva. Consequently they were likely, not to malign the Italian Army, but to close their eyes to that army's faults and to develop a hatred of the Arabs. It is always the case in war, especially in war with a savage and fanatical enemy. A correspondent is inclined to believe anything bad of the foe, to excuse any harshness on the part of his hosts. I purposely refrain from quoting Turkish testimony against the Italians or even the testimony of Englishmen on the Turkish side.

Allow me, sir, in conclusion to apologise for the length of this letter. One of my reasons for writing at this length is that, in view of the opening of the Italian Parliament, the Government at Rome is evidently making a desperate attempt to get a favorable Press in England, and to wipe out the blot of October 23rd. Pro-Italian letters have appeared during the last three weeks in all the London weeklies; and a firm of publishers is getting out, in English, and for the exclusive benefit of the English public, a long illustrated account of the alleged Arab atrocities.

Of these Arab atrocities I know nothing, save that they began after, not before, the Italian atrocities, and that in at least one case they are evidently concocted. Into this question I have no time, however, to enter. It is useless, indeed, to deal with this matter piecemeal. It should first be shown how General Caneva's failure to collect the arms from the oasis Arabs, and to prevent the desert Arabs from passing in disguise through his lines only in order to attack these lines, later on, in the rear—it should first be shown how these things led, first, to the Italian panic of October 23rd, and then to the subsequent massacres. But to do all this, one would have to write, not a newspaper article, but a book.

—Yours, &c.,

FRANCIS McCULLAGH.

Portrush, Caterham, Surrey,  
February 24th, 1912.

#### COUNT AEHRENTHAL AND ALGEÇIRAS.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—It was not Count Aehrenthal but Count Goluchowski who played the part of a "brilliant second" to Germany at Algeçiras. The General Act of Algeçiras was signed on April 7th, 1906, and it was not until October 22nd of the same year that Count Goluchowski retired and Count Aehrenthal took his place. The German Emperor's telegram to Count Goluchowski, thanking him for having acted "als brillanter Sekundant," was dated April 13th, 1906. The one thing Count Aehrenthal was most emphatically not, was a "brilliant second" to Germany, and this was particularly marked by his attitude on the phases of the Morocco question which fell in his term of office.—Yours, &c.,

LUCIEN WOLF.

London, February 26th, 1912.

#### RURAL HOUSING.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—I have read the letter by your correspondent "Builder," in your last issue, which was a criticism of my communication on this question published in your issue of February 17th.

He starts by accusing me of being an enemy to the forces of "Liberty, Truth, and Justice," and then condemns my article as "the most glaringly anti-Liberal that could possibly be conceived."

I fear, however, that I am still unconvinced that my "doctrine" was inimical to Liberalism, or that I am an enemy in disguise to the cause I have at heart. And I

am further strengthened in this belief in that you would hardly have put my article "so prominently before your readers" had you been of the same opinion as your correspondent.

I wonder if "Builder" dubs such men as Mr. John Burns, who was responsible for the Housing Act of 1909, and such great supporters of the Housing Question as Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. L. Harcourt, enemies of "Liberty, Truth, and Justice." For if so, I am at least in goodly company.

Your correspondent has, however, completely missed the point of the article. I was not discussing root causes at all, but simply showing that under the Housing and Town Planning Act little more than the fringe of this great question could be touched.

Your correspondent's solution, which is apparently the Taxation of Land Values, may be the right one, or some other may be still better. But for the moment this does not concern me. I see that the conditions are bad in the extreme, and I see that certain remedies are being applied which are not all-sufficient, and it is this insufficiency of the remedy that I essayed to prove.

"Builder" declares that the unit can very well take care of itself if it is "given freedom," and that the remedy lies not in the "provision of shelters for the slaves, but setting the slaves at liberty." This may be true or not. But whilst we wait to free the bond, wholly to change the fundamentals of our systems of land tenure and taxation, we must not hesitate to introduce what your correspondent apparently considers to be mere palliatives. It may be many years before any such system may become law. During those years it is the duty of every sincere Liberal, of every conscientious Reformer, to do what in him lies to alter and improve conditions which are depleting our villages of all that is best in them, conditions which are sapping the vitality, the very life-blood, of the nation.—Yours, &c.,

HUGH ARONSON.

Chipperfield, February 26th, 1912.

### Poetry.

#### TWO FAITHS.

ABOVE his low green lawn, in tented splendor  
A great tree spread its branches, manifold  
With lucent leaves that quickened into gold,  
And quivered into whispers low and tender.  
While silver-throated birds came all day long  
And haunted it with ecstasies of song.

There dawned a day (the migrant birds were calling)  
When, gazing with a rapture ever new  
To where it stood so grandly on the blue,  
Across the sky he saw it slowly falling.  
He had forgotten—so it roofed him round—  
That it was rooted in his neighbor's ground.

Forlorn the grass without its chequered shade;  
Aloof and cold the spaces of the sky  
Without its comfort; now all silently  
The wind went flowing by—of old it stayed  
And talked among the leaves. The birds took wing,  
They could not sit upon the ground and sing.

Along the dumb wind wandered presently  
A white-winged seed. With love and hope and toil  
He planted it in his own garden-soil.  
And though he will not see it bless the sky  
With spreading arms, it is enough to-day  
That two young tender leaves un-curl with May.

And even because it is so humbly low,  
With fluttering flight the first young thrush of Spring  
Attains its top, and sings there, triumphing,  
Its earliest music; questioning and slow,  
But so divine in pathos, so fresh-hearted,  
That he is glad those other birds departed.

GLADYS MARY MEREDITH.

## The World of Books.

THE "NATION" OFFICE, THURSDAY NIGHT.

THE following is our weekly selection of books which we commend to the notice of our readers:—

- "Common Land and Enclosure." By E. C. K. Gonner. (Macmillan. 12s. net.)
- "Beauty and Ugliness, and Other Studies in Psychological Aesthetics." By Vernon Lee and C. Anstruther-Thomson. (Lane. 12s. 6d. net.)
- "Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion." By J. E. Harrison. (Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.)
- "English Philosophers." The Channels of English Literature Series. By Professor James Seth. (Dent. 5s. net.)
- "Formal Logic: A Scientific and Social Problem." By F. C. S. Schiller. (Macmillan. 10s. net.)
- "Methods of Legislation." By Sir Courtenay Ilbert. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)
- "Boswell's Autobiography." By Percy FitzGerald. (Chatto & Windus. 12s. 6d. net.)
- "The Real Captain Cleveland." By Allan Fea. (Secker. 8s. 6d. net.)
- "The Forest on the Hill." By Eden Phillpotts. (Murray. 6s.)
- "The Charwoman's Daughter." By James Stephens. (Macmillan. 2s. 6d. net.)
- "La Littérature et les Idées Nouvelles." Par A. Mercereau. (Paris: Figuière. 3fr. 50.)
- "Bismarck (1815-1898)." Par H. Welachinger. (Paris: Alcan. 5fr.)
- "Un Coin du Voile." Roman. Par Colette Yver. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 3fr. 50.)
- "Der Junge Nietzsche." Von Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche. (Leipzig: Kröner. 4m.)
- "Hüter des Feuers." Von Paul Brabein. (Leipzig: Grethlein. 4m.)

WE learn that Mr. H. G. Wells is editing, and writing the introduction to, a volume planned on lines somewhat similar to the "Fabian Essays in Socialism." It will be published by Messrs. Harpers, and among the contributors are Sir Edwin Ray Lankester, Mr. Chiozza Money, Mr. Roger Fry, Lady Warwick, and the Rev. Conrad Noel.

AN historical and critical study of the modernist movement has been written by the Rev. Alfred Fawkes, and will be published before the end of the year by Messrs. Smith, Elder. Mr. Fawkes has come into personal contact with most of the Modernist leaders, and his knowledge of the inner history of the movement gives promise of a book of exceptional interest.

UNDER the title of "What I Can Tell," Mr. Eveleigh Nash will issue an English translation of the second volume of reminiscences by M. Arthur Meyer, the Director of the "Gaulois." M. Meyer's first volume was reviewed in our columns on April 22nd, 1911. In the present instalment he has a good deal to say about the salon of Madame de Loynes, and the politicians and men of letters who attended her receptions. These latter include Anatole France, Donné, Coppée, Jules Lemaitre, and Maurice Barrès.

A "DICTIONNAIRE DE BIOGRAPHIE FRANÇAISE," on the same lines as our own "Dictionary of National Biography" and its German counterpart, is to be issued by the Paris firm of Letouzey and Ané. The editors are M. Louis Didier, M. Albert Isnard, and M. Gabriel Ledos, and the work will, of course, extend over a term of several years.

THE fourth volume of Mr. John Bigelow's "Retrospections of an Active Life" is now ready for the press, while the manuscript of the fifth is approaching completion. It is expected that the volumes will throw some fresh light on the political and diplomatic history of the last thirty years. Our issue of March 12th, 1910, contained a review of the first three volumes.

A VOLUME of poems by Mr. John Drinkwater will be published by Mr. Nutt some time in April. Its title is "Poems of Love and Birth," and, in addition to poems that have appeared in our own columns and in other journals, it will contain several that have not previously been published.

ENGLISH medieval life is an attractive theme, and we are promised the results of a good deal of historical research in Dr. Abram's "English Life in the Later Middle Ages," to be published shortly by Messrs. Routledge. It is occupied with such topics as social classes, family life, the position of

women, education, amusements, fashion, and the unemployed. The period chosen is that between the Black Death and the end of the fifteenth century.

SOUTHEY's letters, like the rest of his works, though with a good deal less reason, have fallen out of the notice of the general reader, and we are glad to see that a selection from them has just been added to Mr. Frowde's series of "The World's Classics." Mr. Maurice FitzGerald, who edits the little volume, claims that so far as style is concerned, they can have few superiors. This view finds support from Byron, who said that Southey's prose was "perfect," and from Thackeray, who wrote: "Southey's politics are obsolete, and his poetry dead; but his private letters are worth piles of epics, and are sure to last among us as long as kind hearts like to sympathise with goodness and purity and love and upright life." Yet the four or five thousand pages of Southey's printed correspondence are now seldom consulted, and even the wide sweep of Mr. E. V. Lucas's net does not include Southey, for none of his letters are to be found either in "The Gentlest Art" or "The Second Post."

It is not easy to find an adequate explanation for this general neglect. Perhaps it is due in part, as Mr. FitzGerald hints, to the harsh and vehement language in which Southey expressed himself when writing on religion or politics. "The ultra-servile sack-guzzling laureate," to use the words of one of his satirists, was apt to make every question a moral question, and, as Southey himself admitted, "to speak in the very gall of bitterness." But the two hundred and sixty letters that Mr. FitzGerald has brought together have very little of this spirit. For the most part we see him in a genial aspect, generous in his estimate of others, full of sympathy and enthusiasm, patient in the face of bereavement, confident that he was one of the greatest writers of his time, yet free from any trace of self-conscious egotism. The great defect of the letters is that, though models of simplicity and directness, they have little of the quiet detachment that charms us in Cowper. Southey, as Leslie Stephen put it, had to squeeze in a letter between an epic and a quarterly review, so that "he goes to the point at once, like a good man of business, and cannot give the effect of leisurely and amused reflection." Mr. FitzGerald's little book gives us the best of Southey's letters, and its editor has appended some useful notes. Our only criticism is a regret at his decision not to restore the passages of the letters omitted by Cuthbert Southey and Warter. The time has surely come when even those "free and unguarded expressions" might be made public.

If we exclude Boswell, the two writers who give us the best account of Johnson are Mrs. Thrale and Fanny Burney. Murphy has written an essay of some merit, and Hawkins, the author of the official biography, deserves to be remembered if only for Johnson's description of him, preserved by Miss Burney, as "an excellent man at bottom; but, to be sure, he is penurious, and he is mean, and it must be owned he has a degree of brutality, and a tendency to savageness that cannot easily be defended." But Fanny Burney has written the best supplement to Boswell, and when Dr. Birkbeck Hill was editing his "Johnsonian Miscellanies," he thought of including extracts from her "Diary" in that collection, and only refrained because he thought the diary "too excellent a piece of work to be hacked in pieces." Dr. Birkbeck Hill's project has now been accomplished by Professor C. B. Tinker, of Yale University, whose "Dr. Johnson and Fanny Burney" is published in this country by Mr. Melrose. It contains all the reminiscences of Johnson to be found in Fanny Burney's works, together with some passages dealing with Boswell and Reynolds and other intimate friends of Johnson. When Boswell was writing his biography, he asked Miss Burney to give him some material which would show the whimsical and humorous side of Johnson's character. "She was well able to do this," says Professor Raleigh; "but was thrifty and wise enough to keep what she had for her own use." Professor Tinker's book gives us, in connected form, the results of this thrift and wisdom, and it spares the reader the trouble of piecing together a number of scattered extracts.

## Reviews.

## A BURIED PAST.

**"Ruins of Desert Cathay: A Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China."**  
By M. AUREL-STEIN. (Macmillan. 2 vols. 42s. net.)

It is not at the present moment possible to estimate the full importance of the remarkable archaeological discoveries made in the highlands of Central Asia by Dr. Aurel Stein. His work may prove, indeed, to have a value beyond that of exhibiting a history of the countries to the north of India and Thibet and extending to the western confines of China, from the second and third centuries of the Christian era, and establishing the close connection which existed between this now little-known region of Asia and the Greek and Roman empires. The wonderful success of his explorations may induce others to dig deeper; for most of his "finds" were obtained at depths of only a few feet in sandy desert soil, the dryness of which contributed to their almost perfect preservation; and there is strong reason for believing that a very much earlier human history lies buried beneath these comparatively recent records.

Berosus, the learned priest of Babylon, tells us that there was originally in the land of Babylon a multitude of men of foreign race who had settled in Chaldea, and had come from some unknown region. Fortunately these people left a clue for their identification; the royal library of Nineveh contained tablets written in their language; and from two characteristics of their literature it has been inferred that these primitive colonisers of Babylon (known now as the Shumiro-Accadians) must have come from the neighborhood of the Altai, the great Siberian mountain range. The two features referred to are, firstly, that their written language contains no signs of, or references to, such tropical animals as are found in the warm countries which they invaded; and, secondly, that this language is well stocked with references to metals which are absent in Chaldea but abundant in the Altai region. It is, therefore, possible that the earliest traces of civilised man are to be looked for in this very region where Dr. Stein has found such an abundance of literary and artistic treasures.

The scene of his explorations may be described roughly as a rectangle, one side of which, 500 miles long, runs north and south, and the other, about 1,100 miles long, runs east and west along the northern part of Thibet, extending into China itself and reaching to a distance of about 600 miles from Peking. His work was continued for a space of two years and a half, and his marches covered a total of about ten thousand miles. The field of Dr. Stein's operations was entered from the Afghan Pamirs by the special permission and active assistance of the Amir Habibullah; and his road took him through that very portion of Chitral which in the year 1895 was strongly hostile to Anglo-Indian visitors, and which was the scene of the massacre of the Sikh force of Ross, Edwardes, and Fowler. Great changes for the better had, however, taken place in all this region in the course of a few years; and at Kashgar, a little farther north, the explorer had practical evidence of the extent to which Chinese customs have become altered by the influence of western civilisation. Here he was well received and entertained by an amiable Chinese Mandarin whose native predilections had so far given way to Russian influence that his table was covered with a white table-cloth, and his guests (and himself) were supplied with clean, well-ironed napkins—albeit that *white* is the Chinese mourning color—as well as knives and forks, instead of the orthodox Chinese chop-sticks, which were used familiarly by all present. The chop-sticks were, indeed, in evidence; but they were unused, and placed upon the table merely out of deference to time-honored convention. It was here, at Kashgar, just inside the rectangle of his exploration, that Dr. Stein met and engaged as his secretary the Chinese "gentleman and true comrade," whose learning and skill in deciphering were subsequently of such immense assistance. At Yarkand he met another high Chinese official, friendly and enlightened, who was full of praise for the Japanese in their successful war with Russia, the issue of which he attributed to the sound manner in

which the Japanese had devoted themselves to the study of the philosophy of Confucius.

This account of the matter appears to have amused Dr. Stein, as it would probably amuse most of us; but the worthy Chinese gentleman may not have been, after all, far from the truth; for the Japanese won, not merely by long-range guns and repeating rifles, but by wonderful moral qualities and an almost superhuman conception of duty.

It was, however, on reaching the next stage of his journey, the neighborhood of Khotan, that Dr. Stein's real work of exploration began; and here, mixed with Chinese inscribed rolls and tablets, were found inscriptions in quite a different character, which was cursive and distinctly Indian. Not only here but in subsequent excavations the explorer was fortunate enough to find large rolls of paper inscribed on one side in Chinese character, which was easily translated, and on the other with various scripts, some recognised as Indian and others hitherto quite unknown. The presumption, in many of these instances, is that these scrolls are simply bilingual expressions of the same story, or official Government orders, and that the translation of the Chinese version will lead to the decipherment of the unknown writings—just as the lucky accident of the triply inscribed Rosetta stone, one of whose inscriptions was in Greek, led to the deciphering of Egyptian hieroglyphics. Of written rolls, inscribed wooden slabs, and scripts of various kinds, Dr. Stein obtained throughout this exploration no fewer than 14,000 specimens which are now in the keeping of the British Museum, and which must for several years to come employ a large number of Oriental scholars. With regard to the age of these records, they are quite modern when compared with those of Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt; they may be taken as running from about the second or third century A.D. to the ninth.

It will naturally occur to the reader to ask how such remains, and others to be described presently, came to exist in such sandy and barren desert country; and the answer is that in this part of the world inhabited and cultivated areas have no permanent form or location. Sands that perpetually shift, driven by fierce winds, change the courses of rivers and the positions of lakes, so that no settled abode of long continuance is possible. Some of Dr. Stein's "finds" were in houses or temples which gave evidence of gradual evacuation, while others were in places which gave unmistakable proof of hasty retreat, as from some sudden incursion of an invader. The remains indicated several successive occupations of this portion of Asia—Græco-Indian, Turkish, Thibetan, and Chinese at least—and among them were even implements of the Stone Age, such as axe-heads, arrow-heads, and flint knife-blades; but how near in time these neolithic remains approach to the historical period is a question to which at present an answer is impossible.

Over and above the rich collection of inscribed wooden tablets, of scrolls, and paper manuscripts, Dr. Stein came upon discoveries of another kind. In the neighborhood of Lop-nor, which is situated not far from the eastern boundary of the rectangle of his explorations, he discovered in the ruins of Buddhist temples some of the most remarkable specimens of sculptures and colored frescoes that have ever been brought to light. On the plaster of the walls were painted scenes, some purely religious and some entirely secular in subject, which indicated an unmistakable Greek connection. Here were representations of Eros and of Hermes, together with beautifully-painted winged-angels, whose features were a compound of the Grecian and the Indian, without the slightest resemblance to what we know as Thibetan, Mongolian, or Chinese. These were found in great abundance thus close to the borders of China, and their excellence was such that they could not possibly have originated either in the time of Thibetan occupation or in that of the Chinese immediately preceding: "as well," to quote Dr. Stein, "might we look for the decorators of Pompeian villas among those who ministered to Theodoric's Goths." Even these precious figures on plaster are in the British Museum; and it can be well imagined that the detachment of the plaster from the walls without breakage was a matter requiring elaborate device and great patience. Something was, of course, effected by photography for the preservation of these pictures, in case of fracture in removal



or transit; but let us try to imagine ourselves exposing photographic plates in very badly-lighted nooks and crannies and in crouching and cramped positions, and we may be able to appreciate some of Dr. Stein's difficulties. The early relations of Christianity and Buddhism have furnished matter for discussion and historical research; and these remarkable figures of winged-angels suggest the influence of some early Christian Church, but not with absolute certainty; for, long before the rise of Christianity, the idea of winged celestial messengers had made its way into ancient Iran and other countries of western Asia.

The discoveries in the Lop-nor district are related at great length and depicted in drawings, beautifully executed and almost too numerous to count. The next step took Dr. Stein to the extreme eastern limit of his explorations, Tun-Huang, on the borders of China; and here he visited the site of the "Thousand Buddhas." Here, again, in the richly decorated rock temples, he came upon frescoes and stucco sculptures, and also on a great treasure of ancient manuscripts which had lain hidden in a state of perfect preservation in a walled-up rock chapel for nearly nine hundred years.

The whole story is a fascinating one, a great monument to the intrepid explorer, and one which, although we cannot yet gauge its full results, goes a long way to filling up some of the gaps of human history.

#### BACH AND PROGRAMME MUSIC.

"J. S. Bach." By ALBERT SCHWEITZER, Ph.D. With a Preface by C. M. WIDOR. Translated by ERNEST NEWMAN. (Breitkopf & Härtel. 2 vols. 21s. net.)

ON the biographical and purely musical sides, the Bach literature is mostly summed up in the works of Spitta and Sir Hubert Parry. Both these, however, were greatly deficient on the æsthetic side. Dr. Schweitzer, it is true, adds a good deal to our technical knowledge of Bach's music, and of that of his epoch, and throws a thousand new lights here and there upon the spirit of it. He comes doubly and trebly equipped to the study of Bach as a church composer; for besides being an accomplished musician himself, he has a theologian's and philosopher's acquaintance with the spiritual record of Germany since the sixteenth century; and he makes clear many a stage in the evolution of Bach's forms that had hitherto been somewhat obscure. But excellent and wide-reaching as all Dr. Schweitzer's work is on these lines, the main interest of it centres in the æsthetic discussions of the second volume. Here, as in André Pirro's "*L'Esthétique de J. S. Bach*" (Paris, 1907), we have laid bare to us certain fundamental qualities of the composer's mind of which the older criticism took hardly any account; there is not a hint of them even in Sir Hubert Parry's work, though when this was published, both Pirro's book and Schweitzer's had been accessible for some time. It may be put briefly that the new Bach is seen to be in his proper place among the poetic rather than among the abstract musicians. The profound humanity of his music has, of course, been recognised by everyone during, at any rate, the past half-century. What escaped the notice of critics, historians, and editors was the extent to which his musical thought was stimulated and controlled by external images—what the older and more priggish school of æstheticians solemnly called "non-musical influences." It is now placed beyond dispute that he was addicted, even to excess, to poetic symbolism and to pictorialism in music—that he is in the same boat, that is to say, with Strauss and the "modern" school of poetic descriptive musicians, and seas apart from a purely non-descriptive musician of the type that certain people see in Brahms—whether rightly or not is another matter. Dr. Schweitzer proves this to the hilt by hundreds of musical quotations, and he shows how the persistent pictorialism of Bach causes him to use the same type of phrase so frequently for the same emotion or the same picture that we are justified in speaking of it as a kind of "motive," the motive of grief, of joy, of terror, of walking, of water flowing, and so on. It is not difficult to fasten upon one or two cases in which a phrase that superficially resembles a familiar motive is arbitrarily called by that title by Dr. Schweitzer; but a few errors of this kind no more affect the thesis as a

whole than a couple of shots that miss the target invalidate the ninety-eight that have reached it. And when once the general thesis is accepted, as it is bound to be by all unprejudiced readers, some of the current views upon musical æsthetics will have to be considerably modified.

To any impartial mind, the controversy over the right and the wrong of absolute and poetic music (using the latter term in its broadest sense) is a trifle absurd. The sane view of the position is that each is excellent in its own way. The whole trouble has arisen through the efforts of a certain school of æstheticians, imperfectly endowed with one kind of musical imagination, to make it appear that only the other kind—their kind—is legitimate. This kind of theorising became very plentiful shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century on the part of a number of people who did not like Wagner and Liszt, and could not understand their aims. These good people—Hanslick and the rest of them—honestly thought they were deducing an æsthetic of music from music itself; in reality, they were merely giving the air of a philosophical argument to an enumeration of the characteristics of their own particular palates—making music in their own image. As Dr. Schweitzer points out, these "absolutists" wanted some giant behind whom to fight; so they seized upon Bach. They could not, it is true, help noticing that Bach, at times, was drastically descriptive; but they took care to see as little of this kind of thing as possible, to avoid pushing their inquiries too far in that direction, and to pooh-pooh the indisputable instances of it with the remark that they were simply "quaint." This decidedly "quaint" trick of burying your head in the sand and imagining that that blots out the object from the vision of other people will be found not only in Spitta's book but in Sir Hubert Parry's. Spitta was even driven to the desperate device of arguing that when a descriptive musical phrase in Bach coincided with a descriptive verbal phrase in the text, the association was mostly merely accidental! Dr. Schweitzer has the easiest of tasks in showing the absurdity of that theory; and anyone who will read simply his chapter on the "*Matthew Passion*," or Dr. Alfred Heuss's copious book on the same work, will see at once how packed with realism Bach's music is here; and what happens here is only a hint of what occurs in the two-hundred-odd other vocal works of his.

The fact, then, has to be recognised that Bach's mind, during the greater part of its activity, moved along the lines of symbolic and descriptive music rather than along those of abstract music; for it is evident now that not only the vocal but a number of the instrumental works are poetic or pictorial in conception. The bearing of this upon modern æsthetics has been naively misconceived by some of the English reviewers of Dr. Schweitzer's book. One or two of them take refuge in the remark that in his realism Bach was only the child of his age. This is only partly true; for, while certain of Bach's realistic images can be paralleled in the work of other composers of his own and the preceding generation, not one of them uses description with anything like his scope or his relentless persistence, and not one of them has any intuition of the profoundly poetic symbolism with which he fills a number of his purely instrumental works. Moreover, if Bach was not alone in looking at music as he did, one would imagine that this was further evidence that the descriptive tendency in music is something more than a mere aberration, a deflection from the straight line of "pure" music. We can hardly call a particular organ a freak if it is seen to occur in something like three-fourths of the human race! Other writers argue that Bach's realism was the part of his work that is least interesting for us to-day, which is far too sweeping a statement, and that we should be erring grievously by slavishly imitating it. That is true, but it misses the real point. No one in his senses would advocate mere realism for realism's sake. It is a dangerous game to play, as some of Strauss's latest experiments show.

The essential thing is not the success or non-success of Bach in suggesting this or that external phenomenon in music, but the attitude of mind towards the outer world that is revealed in the attempt. The old fiction of the separation of music and outward suggestion must go by the board. It is evident that it was never recognised in vocal music, for the songs of Schubert, for example, are full of translations of visual and other images

into tone. If this kind of interpretation of the outer universe is legitimate in music that is printed along with words, it is surely equally legitimate in music that has the words printed at the head of it. What difference does it make to the working of the hearer's imagination whether he learns that a certain phrase is meant to suggest a ride in the night from seeing the ride described in the poem (as in Schubert's "Erl-King"), or from reading a summary of the poetic purpose of the work at the head of the score or in a programme? When we listen to the "Erl-King" in the pianoforte arrangement alone, our imagination filling in the pictorial details from memory of the poem, in what respect does its working differ from what goes on when we listen to "Till Eulenspiegel" after having learned from the programme analysis the poetic basis of the work? Admit the song, as Sidney Lanier long ago pointed out, and you cannot logically exclude programme music. The value of the new discoveries with regard to Bach is ultimately this—that they give the support of the greatest name of all to the modern composers who have contended, in the face of the niggling criticism of the pettier kind of aesthetician, that poetic or descriptive music is inherently as worthy as any other. What we have to do is not to give musical representations of serpents, and so on, merely because Bach wrote such things, but to avoid forcing, as even he sometimes did, the realism beyond the bounds of musical beauty or interest, to keep it in its due place in the picture without being in the least ashamed of it when it is aesthetically justifiable, and to learn how to pursue a purely poetic sequence of musical ideas with impeccable logic throughout a long symphonic work. Here again Bach's practice comes to our assistance. Writers of programme music have always contended, and rightly, that the forms of abstract music were not always valid for it, and that many a stroke that would be inexplicable as a passage of music pure and simple would be seen to be justified when the hearer had the clue to the poetic idea of the composer. We now see that many things in Bach that were at one time incomprehensible tell us their full story when we know the poetic or descriptive lines upon which he was working. M. Widor, in his preface to the present volumes, tells how he had been puzzled for years over some of the apparent caprices and failures of logic in the tissue of the organ chorale preludes, and how light upon them came to him for the first time when Dr. Schweitzer showed the changes in their fabric to be motivated by the words of the hymns, which Bach had in his mind at the time of composition.

How many of us have had a similar experience, not only with Bach, but with other composers! It is along these lines of the elucidation of modern problems of expression and form that we must apply the fascinating results of Dr. Schweitzer's researches.

#### THE HERO OF HOLLAND.

**"William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and the Revolt of the Netherlands."** By RUTH PUTNAM. "Heroes of the Nations" Series. (Putnam. 5s. net.)

MISS RUTH PUTNAM'S "William the Silent," published sixteen years ago, is already one of the accepted authorities on the period of which she writes. The present volume is a new version of the former work, much condensed to bring it within the limits of the "Heroes of the Nations" Series, and with some new material added. The result is a very workmanlike and compact history of the freeing of the Netherlands from the Spanish yoke, vivified in a very interesting way by extracts from letters and contemporary documents, and by reproductions of portraits of the principal actors in the drama.

Such a series as this bears in its title at once its recommendation from the popular point of view and its condemnation from the critical one. For the young student of history, it is of the utmost value to have a period lit up by the vivid picture of some one heroic figure; and yet, as each country and each important epoch must be represented, there is some temptation to press into the heroic notable persons not, strictly speaking, heroic in character. William the Silent, statesman and opportunist, in spite of the deep debt of gratitude owed to him by the

Netherlands, is not altogether a heroic character. In religion, as in politics, he chose the safe way and the wise way, not the heroic way. And where the heroic touch is wanting, a record of this kind is apt to become a list of battles, on the one hand, and of marriages and family complications on the other. In these days, when our chief desire is to know something about the "common people" of any period in which we are interested, this is a discredited form of history. A few extracts from letters of the time, giving an account of the peasantry, of how they lived and suffered during those ceaseless wars, of the levying of troops and the looting of produce, would have added greatly to the value of this work. As it is, the country people, and the burghers in the towns, and even the soldiers themselves, appear as no more than pawns in the game. Yet, since the political and religious setting of the story are taken for granted, some space for these might have been spared from trivial family details.

The perfect monograph is, in brief, a footnote to history. It is the convenient half-way house for the student who desires to go beyond the beaten track, and who yet has not the opportunity for consulting either original documents or standard works in other tongues. It must be accurate, and it must give references to all the authorities quoted. But above and beyond those material necessities, it must infect the reader with enthusiasm; it must infuse into the dry bones of the collected material the spirit of romance. It must have something of the quality which makes the great Garibaldi epic of Mr. Trevelyan a work of creative genius—the quality which separates such work from the hundreds of well-made books and gives it a place among the living forces in literature.

It may be conceded at once that Miss Putnam's biography fulfils every requirement but the one; it misses the heroic touch. The extracts, the references, the index, all are excellent, but the portrait of the central figure leaves us unmoved. It is more remote and much less clear than some of the minor characters. It is possible that in condensing the material some of the life has gone out of the original picture. As has been said already, the extracts from letters give actuality to the account of William's family relations; two of his brothers, Louis and John, stand out strongly. There is a painful and realistic picture of his marriage with the unhappy and ill-fated Anne of Saxony; and a very charming and sympathetic one of his marriage with his third wife, Charlotte of Bourbon. It is in the drawing of William himself that the vivid touches are missing. Miss Putnam deplores the necessity for keeping the title "William the Silent," yet here is just one of the picturesque legends of which every teacher of history knows the value. And the winning and keeping of such a name by the astute and plausible statesman is a salient fact about his character.

This is not the only case in which a picturesque opportunity is directly missed. The relief of Leiden is one of the most thrilling and extraordinary events in the whole struggle. The invasion of the Spanish camps by the waters, and the slow on-coming of the fleet with the rising tide, form as romantic an episode as the wooden horse at the siege of Troy. And it is an evidence of William's originality as a general. Yet Miss Putnam breaks her narrative to give a long account, interesting in itself, of William's illness and the treatment resorted to by his various physicians. We read of cupping and potions and plasters on the stomach, and meantime the burghers in Leiden are starving and desperate. We wait through pages of that illness for the cutting of the dykes with nearly the same impatience as the invalid himself must have felt. And the story, when at last it comes, is told without emotion. There is the same absence of artistry in the account of William's assassination. Here, surely, is a natural climax, and it is with something of a shock that we read, a page further on, that he was of average height, and that he wore a little cap because his hair had grown thin. It is by such errors of taste that the effect of some really good work is lost.

For the rest, there is a useful bibliography as well as an index, and a map of the Netherlands in 1550. And there are reproductions of about thirty typical coins and medals of the period. References to the authorities quoted are carefully given in footnotes, and the date is given at the head of each page.



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## DICKENS AND THE AMERICANS.

"Charles Dickens in America." By W. CLYDE WILKINS.  
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HERE is a book for the Dickens Centenary which will be read with interest, but with mixed feelings, since it is not altogether favorable or complimentary to the personality of the famous author. It consists of a portentous number of extracts recovered from the files of American newspapers, from Forster's "Life of Charles Dickens," from Philip Hone's "Diary," and from a few other sources not previously published. With the exception of a report of the Press dinner given to Dickens at Delmonico's at the termination of his second visit in 1868, all the passages relate to the first visit of 1842, and they have been arranged so as to form a consecutive narrative of the events of that tour and to give a complete impression of his amazingly enthusiastic reception by the American Press and people. But they have—although Mr. Wilkins does not depart from an attitude of strict impartiality—an ulterior purpose. They are designed to show that Dickens's strictures on American institutions in 1842 were indiscriminating and over-severe. Says Tony Weller to Sam, in "Pickwick," "Have a passage taken ready for 'Merrika . . . and then let him come back and write a book about the 'Merrikans, as'll pay his expenses and more, if he blows 'em up enough." Mr. Wilkins does not suggest that Dickens followed his hero's advice with any sordid pecuniary motive, but he does suggest that he followed the advice without sufficient justification.

What were the circumstances? Between the first and second visits, "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit" appeared. Both books gave considerable offence to a section of the American public by their reflections upon American manners. Dickens was accused of gross ingratitude towards a people who had loaded him with receptions, dinners, and pretty speeches. Mr. Wilkins advances the theory that his pen was "sour" by an unfortunate speculation in an American bubble scheme: the Cairo City and Canal Company, the dismal "Eden" so graphically described in "Martin Chuzzlewit." It is also suggested that he was embittered by his failure to secure the efficient co-operation of American men of letters in his efforts to secure international copyright, and that his vanity was seriously offended by the personalities of certain journals. There is, of course, something to be said in support of every one of these explanations of Dickens's attitude; the only question is whether the additional "evidence" that Mr. Wilkins has collected was sufficient to justify the resuscitation of an old controversy, and as this evidence mostly consists of individual opinions on matters of trivial importance, we are disposed to think it was not. By the time of the famous dinner at Delmonico's, all had, apparently, been forgiven, if not forgotten, if we may judge from the speeches on that occasion; and we see no object in reiterating statements which, if they suggest the little weaknesses of a big man, emphasise the—even at that time—hopeless vulgarity of third-rate American journalism, and recall more serious abuses, such as the slavery system, which angered Dickens's soul.

Controversy apart, however, the book is full of enjoyable reminiscences of distinguished Americans whom Dickens met, and contains many an interesting identification of Dickens's characters and places with their actual American prototypes. All the cultured world of the States foregathered to do honor to the thirty-year-old author of "Pickwick," when he landed in 1842; the list could fill a column. Oliver Wendell Holmes, J. R. Lowell, Richard Henry Dana, William Wetmore Story, Philip Hone, the banker and diarist, Professor Felton, "the heartiest of Greek professors," Washington Irving, Horace Greeley, President Tyler; these and many another figure on committees of dinners, as private hosts, or as participants in the flood of post-prandial oratory, all of it charged with Dickensian allusions—that was the order of the day. Of various "identifications" it is impossible to write otherwise than briefly. Readers of "Martin Chuzzlewit" will remember the very public "Lèvee" which Captain Kedgick, the landlord of the hotel where Martin and Mark Tapley were staying, insisted on being held on the strength of

Martin's becoming a property-owner in Eden. This was a personal experience undergone by Dickens in Philadelphia, at the United States Hotel, of which a certain Colonel Florence was landlord. Who will forget the handshaking as described in "Chuzzlewit"?

"One after another, one after another, dozen after dozen, score after score, more, more, more, up they came: all shaking hands with Martin. Such varieties of hands, the thick, the thin, the short, the long, the fat, the lean, the coarse, the fine; such differences of temperature, the hot, the cold, the dry, the moist, the flabby; such diversities of grasp, the tight, the loose, the short-lived, and the lingering . . . and ever and anon the Captain's voice was heard above the crowd. . . . 'Now, gentlemen, you that have been introduced to Mr. Chuzzlewit, will you clear, gentlemen? Will you clear?' . . . Regardless of the Captain's cries, they didn't clear at all, but stood there, bolt upright and staring."

One could picture the same scene readily from the comparatively colorless account in the local press, given by Mr. Wilkins, of the two hours' martyrdom which followed Dickens's consenting to receive a "few friends" of Colonel Florence. It is but fair, however, to state that he was almost as badly mobbed at a presidential levée in Washington.

Another interesting identification is that of "Dr. Crocus," of the "American Notes," with an adventurer called Dr. Angus Melrose, who was an itinerant lecturer on phrenology. A certain Dr. J. F. Snyder thinks that the grandiloquent references by this worthy to the "free" institutions of the States were ironical, and that he meant to express his contempt for those institutions; that the references were, in fact, a delicate species of American bluff, which Dickens, "with proverbial English obtuseness of perception," failed to see through. Nothing, however, is adduced that supports this engaging theory of Dickens's "obtuseness." In "American Notes" we have a description of the Kentucky giant, Porter. Mr. Wilkins here identifies this individual with a man of the same name, and gives us not only Dickens's opinion of Porter, but—what is more piquant—Porter's opinion of Dickens. Many of the hotels at which Dickens stayed are mentioned in "American Notes," and we have these, and others that are identifiable, more or less fully described, the description in many cases being aided by plates from contemporary engravings. On the whole, therefore, the book, in spite of its early disposition to censure, contains a good deal that no Dickens-lover would care to miss.

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With his other puppets, Mr. Vance is less happy. This does not matter very much, because his story is so good; but it is a pity the emotions of his two young people entirely lack the healthy spirit of their deeds. "What are brains and spirit doing in company with such beauty? It isn't human," says the old lady of Cynthia. It is a description that does not tally with the exotic sentimentality of her love-scenes with Crittenden. Nor do we quite reconcile the hero of the desperate scenes on the boat with the man whose anger "burned like slow fire in all his body, mind, and soul," because his wife had left a bank-note on his table. With all its inequalities, "Cynthia-of-the-Minute" remains a book well worth reading.

A similar attempt has been made in "Two Worlds" to bring ordinary men and women into contact with extraordinary happenings. That the attempt has failed is due to the fact that while the adventures are real enough, or might be real, the men and women are not. This is not for lack of descriptive matter. Everyone in the book is elaborately described with an unsparing use of adjectives; nobody quite lives in it. They may hunt cougars and wapiti, be besieged by wolves, or abducted in aeroplanes; both men and women remain remarkably uninteresting and lifeless persons. The plot is incoherent, too. The exhibition of second sight, through which the astral bodies of Constance and her lover are made to commune together, is an incident that has no place in the story; and there is a sudden manifestation of Christian Science towards the end that fails in effect from sheer lack of craftsmanship. It is a pity, because one gathers that the author has written his book to prove the inability of man or woman to ignore the spiritual side of life; and the attempt is worthy of a better success.

Mr. Niven's rather unusual title for his new book is explained in one of the best-written passages in the story:—

"Wylie approached the corpse and prodded it with his foot, till it rolled downward after the other, and crashed into the bracken. But he had not spurned it with sufficient energy to send it beyond the foxgloves, and it lay there upon its back, with loose neck, among the blue of the foxglove dingle. It was so clear and shining a day that as we looked at the sight we saw the largest of the flies that rose and danced above the disturbed bracken. 'What do ye call these blue flowers?' asked Wylie. 'D'ye ken the name?' 'Foxglove,' said I, 'in the usual parlance; or *digitalis purpurea*. The common people,' I added, 'call them dead men's bells' . . . 'The

common people,' said Wylie, 'aye come nearer the bitter heart of life.'"

There is a good deal more than funeral bells, however, in this story of the adventures that fall to the lot of a young Scotsman who set out to seek his fortune somewhere in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and fell among pirates and cut-throats, and finally among the Jacobites, whose hearts were "too big for their cause." Indeed, what really distinguishes the book from others of its kind is just that part of it which has nothing to do with adventure, and merely presents the home circle of young Robert Lindsey, and describes his relations with the mother who loves and does not understand him, with a truth and poignancy that bring the story into line with any story of any family in any age. There are many touches of beauty in "Dead Men's Bells"—the last paragraph in the book, for one—which serve to lighten a story that is otherwise a little dull, despite its many happenings.

The element of strangeness is certainly not wanting in Miss Little's latest work, "The Children's Bread"; but it is woven into a delightfully natural setting in a Scottish village, and if Tony Legrand, the young Frenchman who has sworn to kill the man who betrayed his mother, is a slightly unusual person to find in such a setting, his character is made convincing enough; is, indeed, a remarkably clever creation. The women of the book are not so sympathetically drawn as the men. Trudy Courtland, the young woman who flirts with everyone, finds, to her horror, that she has fallen in love with "an elderly man with a bald head," and finally marries Tony out of compassion, does not ring quite true; and Nessie Skene is equally unconvincing and inconsistent. Jimmie Skene, on the other hand, is a real person; and so is Heyman, the painter, whom Tony mistakes for the man he is seeking. But the book is worth reading for the sake of the character-study of Legrand; almost, indeed, for the boy's account of his terrible childhood in a poverty-stricken home in Brussels, of which quotation can but give a slight idea:—

"And my foster-mother have little to go and come. But she took me into her home, and nourish me with her own infants. Poor people do things like that. . . . But my foster-mother, she haven't read the best economique literature. She marry as poor, hard-worikin' people do—because it's the only excitement what she can get: and they go on marrying after they know it is not exciting. . . . My foster-mother have relations: they did the way relations do, they keep themselves apart so that they can say, 'We didn't know' . . . Ha! You might be ready to smile at the idea that it's an agonise to have your brain hungry all the time. . . . If you meet any people what say it's an advantage for a poor young person to be clever with a gift, tell them it's a lie. It's cruel, like all the lies respectable well-off people tell."

"The Shape of the World" just misses being a good novel. It is not well written, but it is brightly written. The people in it are not elaborately studied, but they are cleverly sketched. It is difficult to take such a book seriously; but, then, it is possible that the writer did not mean it to be taken seriously. It would fill an hour or two very pleasantly, and the plot, if a little far-fetched, is neither dull nor ordinary. The story tells how the eleventh Sir Christopher Javelin goes the way of his predecessors, and becomes obsessed with a kind of devil when he has been married about five years. Like all the women who have married Javelins in the past, his wife has both pluck and endurance; unlike all the others, she also possesses talent, and, being able to win money and fame by writing plays, she has a better time on the whole than her predecessors. In the end, the curse is removed by her daughter, Delicia, the first daughter born to the Javelins for a hundred years, and Sir Christopher becomes a normal man again. There is a good deal of humor and wit in the telling of the story, and, to the uncritical, the want of plausibility in the plot would, perhaps, attract rather than repel.

There is nothing very remarkable about Mr. Oliver Lodge's little collection of sketches and verses, of which only sixty copies have been printed, and those very beautifully on hand-made paper. The stories in the form of dialogues are the best, but they are not particularly inspiring, and there seems no real reason why they should have been printed at all, least of all in such an expensive form. Those intended for children appear to be nonsense-stories; they are quite the least pleasing in the book.



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EVERYTHING has been hanging on the issue of the coal strike. Nobody cares to speculate in either commodities or securities until at least a temporary settlement has been secured. The Money Market is anxious, and exchanges are disturbed. The consequent lull in Stock Exchange business has sharpened the strife over the new rules which are now being balloted upon. An official pamphlet has been issued in support of the proposed changes in opposition to those who advocate "free trade." Opponents of the rules say that if they are passed a rival Stock Exchange may be started, while supporters urge that they will preserve business and help to maintain the distinction between brokers and jobbers. Apart from this the principal excitement of the week has been the little boom in Nigerian tin, but this seems to have been largely professional, with participation by outside speculators. The Foreign Market has seen substantial gains in Chinese Bonds; evidently the market now expects an era of peace and reform. The reduction of trade at the ports has been less than might have been expected. The activity of the Italian fleet has caused some apprehension, and the news from Mexico is decidedly bad. In some quarters it is thought that President Madero will come to grief, and foreign residents are sighing for Diaz. Nevertheless, the Mexican railway traffics are satisfactory. In the American Market, depression still reigns, and the gloom has been increased by Colonel Roosevelt's fully declared intention of trying to secure nomination as a Radical Republican.

## ARGENTINE RAILWAYS.

The strike on the Argentine railways has been of much longer duration than was the eruption on the English lines last August. The stoppage in Argentina occurred early in January, and only this week has its settlement been announced. The traffic returns have shown very heavy declines, but the Stock Exchange has throughout held the opinion that the movements were only delayed, and that directly the strike was settled the traffics would be abnormally heavy, and so make up for the declines. To show the extent of the losses due to the strike, the following

table will serve. It gives the aggregate increase or decrease since July 1st, 1911, of the principal lines before the strike broke out, with the corresponding figures in the latest traffics. All the Argentine Railway figures are yearly, running from July 1st to June 30th.

	Inc. on Dec. to Jan. 7.	Inc. on Dec. to Feb. 25.	Loss due to strike.
	£	£	£
Argentine N.E. ....	+ 21,300	+ 19,900	- 1,400
B.A. Great Southern ...	+ 21,300	- 134,600	- 155,900
B.A. Pacific .....	+ 54,700	- 96,200	- 150,900
B.A. Western .....	- 39,900	- 175,000	- 135,100
Central Argentine ...	- 281,900	- 566,900	- 185,000
Cordoba & Rosario ...	- 12,300	- 15,400	- 3,100
Cordoba Central .....	even	- 6,400	- 6,400
Do. C.N. Sect. ...	+ 31,600	+ 17,900	- 13,700
Do. B.A. Exten. ...	+ 26,000	- 14,700	- 40,700
Entre. Rios .....	+ 48,000	+ 22,100	- 26,500

The Central's decline, it will be seen, is only partially due to the strike; the main reason is the smaller maize crop, as this product forms the major part of the Central's heavy goods traffic. If the Stock Exchange theory is right, the receipts of the other three big lines—the Pacific, Western, and Southern—will have to be extraordinarily heavy in the next month or so if the declines are to be recovered. Last year's receipts were swollen by the lateness of the previous harvest, so that the comparison will not be a favorable one. All the big lines have been great builders in the last year or two, and their capitals have risen with their mileage. The receipts per mile, therefore, have fallen more in proportion than the active receipts. Working expenses, of course, may be reduced considerably, because of the saving in wages; but the Companies must have been put to expense in other ways, and the outlook for the current year's dividends is by no means bright. Even if earnings are about the same, they will have to be spread over larger amounts of capital.

Below is a comparative table of the prices, showing how they have been affected by the strike:—

	1911.	Dec. 31.	Now.	Rise Present or Yield
	Highest. Lowest.			Fall. %
Argentine N.E. "B" ...	103 95	99	100	+1 5
B.A. Gt. Southern ...	125½ 117	125½	124	-1½ 5½
B.A. Pacific .....	101 90½	100½	97½	-3 3½
B.A. Western .....	134½ 122	134½	128	-6½ 6½
Central Argentine ...	110½ 104½	107½	106	-1½ 5½
Cordoba Central .....	94½ 87	91	90	-1 5½
Do. C.N. Sec. (Inc.) ...	58½ 48½	57½	58½	+1 3½
Do. B.A. Extension ...	89 81½	84½	85	+½ 6
Cordoba & Rosario ...	71 64½	67	67	-4½
Entre. Rios .....	78½ 44	77	79	+2 2

The most important fall is that in Westerns, which have lost 6½ points. Part of this is due to the deduction of the "rights" in connection with the new issue of shares. Westerns are now 4 points higher than Great Southern, but the difference ought to be more. The Great Southern had difficulty in meeting its 7 per cent. dividend, less income tax, last year, while the Western paid ½ per cent. extra by way of compensation for the deduction of the tax. The Western's finances, too, are better, as the Great Southern is meeting the interest on money raised for extension out of capital during construction.

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Our investments now stand at £100,000, and it is interesting to know that the whole of the increase of £21,662 in our net premium income has been practically saved, as is shown by the fact that we have increased the reserve fund by a total of £19,345, after deducting the amount required to pay the dividend which we are recommending to you to-day. During the year over £140,000 has been paid in claims, and of this amount we have actually provided from previous years over £100,000, and during the current year, whatever may be the amount of the claims experienced, we shall have something like £120,000 to expend before we have to draw upon the current year's premium income to make up any balance which may have to be paid. Our reserves for unexpired liability and outstanding claims, after allowing for the proposed dividend, have increased from 44 per cent. for 1910 to 48 per cent. for 1911, of our total net premium income, whereas our expenses have dropped from 37.1 per cent. to 36.6 per cent. during the same period.

The Chairman concluded by moving the adoption of the report. The resolution was unanimously adopted, and Mr. Frederick Kerr and Mr. E. Manville were re-elected Directors, and the Auditors were reappointed.

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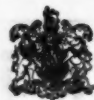
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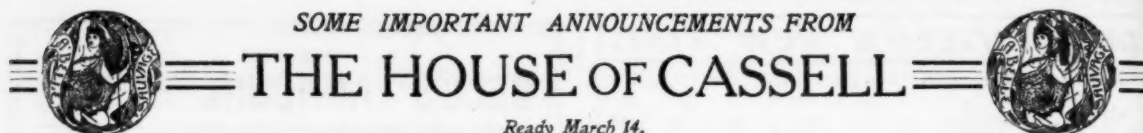
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